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ABSTRACT

This study looked at the overall situation of the immigrant population, and young immigrants in particular, and analyzed such problem areas as the transition from school to working life and the inadequacies of initial training with relation to the situation in Belgium, Denmark, France, Luxembourg, and the United Kingdom. National monographs for each country were prepared. They all point to very similar, if not identical, problem areas; (1) problems relating to the education of children of migrant workers and (2) problems concerning access to vocational training and the links between success at school, success in vocational training, success in employment, and access to the labor market. Analysis of the monographs confirms the existence of close links between the various problems, converging to a central point that could be termed the "level of cultural, social, and vocational integration." Problem areas include the family and school (knowledge of the host language, time of arrival in the host country, preschool attendance, lack of motivation for staying in school, ghettos); school and vocational training (failure leads to failure, discrimination); and vocational training and employment (reduction of low-skill jobs). Research was suggested to improve the children's situation by finding out more about their home life and better ways to teach them, especially languages. (KC)

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CEDEFOP Document

The vocational training of young migrants in Belgium, Denmark, France, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom

Synthesis report

European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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Synthesis report

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Belgium

CEDEFOP

This synthesis report
was drawn up by A. Bastenier, F. Dassetto and H. Fonck
on behalf of CEDEFOP - European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training, Berlin 1985

This study was undertaken jointly by the Working Group on Migrations and Inter-Ethnic Relations (Groupe d'Etudes des Migrations et des Relations Interethniques - Université Catholique de Louvain)
Project coordinator : Duccio Guerra

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The vocational training situation of young immigrants in Belgium

Summary

1. Some basic facts

In 1984 there were almost 900 000 "foreigners" in Belgium, which is equal to about 9 % of the population. Half of them are under 25 years of age.

Obviously not all of these foreigners belong to the group designated as "immigrants", which is usually considered to include individuals of non-Belgian nationality belonging to the socio-occupational category of blue-collar workers. These account for about 75 % of the total number of foreigners. This means that some 350 000 young "immigrants" are either presently or potentially affected by problems associated with their vocational training. This figure includes 135 000 young Italians, 70 000 young Moroccans, 43 000 young Turks and 27 000 young Spaniards. Overall they account for 12.5 % of the Belgian population under 25 years of age. However, owing to the fact that they are very unequally distributed among the regions the percentages for Brussels, Wallonia and Flanders are 36.5, 17 and 6 % respectively.

A large number of these young people of foreign extraction were born in Belgium, that is, more than 75 % of those attending primary school and over 60 % of those in secondary education, and it is relevant to ask what the designation "immigrant" actually means in their case! The proportion of pupils of foreign extraction in the total population of schoolchildren is relatively high: they account for more than 100 000 pupils at the primary level (15.3 % of the total) and 80 000 at the secondary level

(almost 10 %). However, the distribution of these young foreigners among the different branches of secondary education is very unequal. 33.8 % of them are receiving general education, 26.3 % technical education and 39.8 % vocational education, while the corresponding percentages for their Belgian counterparts are 55.6 %, 22.8 % and 21.6 % respectively.

Unfortunately the most recent statistics on vocational activity among young people of foreign extraction (that is, those who are already on the labour market) date back to 1977. They show that the overall percentage of this group available to the labour market (49.3 %) in 1977 was slightly lower than that for their Belgian counterparts (50.7 %), due to the smaller number of young girls in the working population. The exact figures on the level of vocational qualification achieved by these young foreigners, however, show that this is generally considerably lower than that of the young Belgians and that it remains similar to that of the "first generation" of immigrants at the time of their arrival. There has thus evidently been very little change in social mobility in the immigrant population in Belgium.

The deterioration in the employment situation, which has become more rapid in Belgium over the past few years, has been associated with a rapid increase in the number of young unemployed persons in general: in 1974 they accounted for 20.5 % of the total number of unemployed; today they account for 30 %. However, the young foreigners are doubly affected owing to the fact that their situation on the labour market is more vulnerable as a result of their low level of vocational qualification on the one hand and the fact of their being foreign on the other. While the employment index was 100 in 1974 and increased to 546 in 1984 for the group of under-25s in general, that for the young foreigners rose to 703. It should also be added that not all nationalities are affected by unemployment to the

same extent. Whereas in 1984 18 % of the total Belgian working population under 25 years of age were affected by unemployment, unemployment among the young foreigners was 26.6 % (however, the rate for the young Turks was as high as 35.5 %). It should be mentioned that the statistics for the "unemployed" do not include all "job seekers"; the figures are in fact higher: 29 % of young Belgian workers under 25 were included in the latter category and 42.4 % of young foreigners (however, the rate for young Moroccans was 50.1 % and that for young Turks 56.6 %).

2. The main problem areas

2.1. School as a "waiting room" and the lack of motivation for vocational training

Why do so many young immigrants leave school without any kind of certificate in vocational education? Is school for them merely a way of passing time until they are of an age to gain access to the labour market?

If this is so, then objectively speaking school fulfils no other function that that of producing the work force in a purely physical sense. In this respect the situation of young immigrants is not very different from that of young Belgians from working class families without any qualification. In their case also, school does not seem to effect any change in the original socio-occupational situation of the parents.

In the case of the young people of immigrant origin, this can be explained by the fact that, among other factors, the labour markets of both the country of residence and the country of origin place practically no demands on them as regards qualification. The question is, whether it is possible to distinguish between motivations for training and stimuli provided by the labour

markets. Whatever the case may be, it may be concluded that there is a lack of motivation for vocational training. For many years immigrants have been expected to accept inferior jobs requiring little qualification or none at all, which have been disdained by the native Belgians. There has without doubt been a change in the situation since the start of the crisis of 1973. However, far from improving, it is deteriorating, since from now on young foreigners will have to find their place in a society which not only does not expect them to have any real occupation or profession, but which makes it clear that it quite simply does not need them at all, which is even worse!

School education obviously plays an important role in this process of non-preparation for the acquisition of vocational qualification. There are many grounds for concern about the educational situation of young immigrants right from the start of primary school ! At this level 25 % of the immigrants are one year behind and 21 % 2 years or more.
What characteristics of or factors associated with immigrant children can be held responsible for this situation?

There are many different factors involved: the age of some of these children at the time of their arrival in Belgium (to have been borne in a foreign country is almost always a cultural handicap), the socio-cultural standards of the parents (in as far as this constitutes a support on which the children can rely when they start school), the different national adherences (which are culturally relatively far removed from the country of residence), the extent to which the parents and children have a command of the local language at the time when the children start school.

However, there is no disputing the fact that in addition to these individual characteristics, the lack of adjustment of scholastic institutions to the situation resulting from immigration is a decisive factor. As early as 1960

various research projects in this field revealed that the system was unable to cope with the influx of foreign pupils ..... Conservative by nature, the schools were not able to adapt to the new situation. There was a clear lack of coordination between the policies on immigration and education, and the Belgian educational structures have still not managed to adjust. The policies of successive governments have achieved nothing more than the announcement of measures which have been followed by few and inadequate concrete changes. There is a conspicuous lack of coordination between the few existing projects and one is forced to conclude that no real and clear objectives have been defined.

2.2. The vocational training situation

In Belgium a large proportion of vocational training for young people is provided by the school system itself, following on from primary-level education. It may thus be estimated that almost 50 000 young foreigners between the ages of 14 and 24 years are at present receiving vocational education in schools. All statistical studies on the choice of post-primary education emphasize the fact that the young foreigners are more highly represented in this branch of training than their Belgian counterparts and that they are thus oriented towards the labour market at an earlier stage.

Rather paradoxically, although Belgium prides itself on having one of the most highly developed systems of technical and vocational training in the world, very little research has been conducted into the functioning, efficiency and results of this education.

Thus there have been considerable shifts in the value of diplomas on the labour market in real terms, as compared with their face value, without there having been an ensuing review of the rationale behind the system of vocationa training. This means that there has been a fall in the value of the qualifications of a number of young people

with diplomas from these schools ("dequalification"). A reform of vocational training in schools has been in progress for several years and in 1983 the Government passed a series of measures with a view to extending compulsory education (the school-leaving age was raised to 18 years) by various different means (reducing the timetable and introducing alternance training). However, in view of the practical means of implementing this new law the question arises as to whether the real objective was not quite simply to disguise a certain proportion of unemployment among young people by subtracting a fraction of them from the total working population. At all events the question has been raised as to whether the explicit aims of the law have not been pushed into the background by the attempt to exercise the greatest control possible over young people leaving school who have little chance of becoming integrated in the economic system. This would make the goal less one of providing each individual with vocational training of which he can make use immediately than one of preventing young people from abandoning training courses before the age of 18 years. Moreover, the extension of compulsory schooling would them become part of a more far-reaching move to re-define the economic and social roles of the family by forcing it to carry the financial burden of the additional years of schooling. This would be nothing less than a confirmation of the tendency of social policies to foist upon the family unit a number of costs which until recently had been borne by the community as a whole.

Whatever the case may be, young people from immigrant families are at present far more highly represented in vocational schools than in other branches of schooling, either because they have previously received only mediocre education, or because they wish to learn an occupation fast. However, a large number of them - between

40 and 60 % - abandon these courses before the end and leave without obtaining any kind of certificate.

These young people have a difficult time making a start on their careers and they themselves well realize that there is no harmonious coordination between the educational and economic systems.

2.3. Alternative training projects

It was the realization of this state of affairs in vocational training that led to the setting up of privately run projects for the purpose of providing specific programmes for young people of foreign extraction, either by direct or by indirect means. Examples of such projects are the FUNOC (Charleroi), the "Canal Emploi" (Liège), the APAJI, the Ateliers Marolliens and the Ecole des Etangs Noirs (Brussels).

In view of the positive results achieved by these projects compared to the overwhelming failure of the traditional system they deserve to be taken into account, although there are by no means enough of them to answer the real needs.

2.4. Training under "articles of indenture for apprentices"

Young people of not less than 14 years of age can obtain vocational training by becoming articled as apprentices under the auspices of the Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises. Under these contracts they receive training from the owner of a small enterprise or a craftsman, which bascially prepares them form one of the independent trades.

In 1982 roughly 1 500 young people of foreign extraction (out of a total of 13 000) were receiving training under such a contract for occupations such as caterer, mechanic, electrician, builder or retailer.

There is some controversy as to the quality of the training provided under these contracts. There are those who claim that it is distinctly szperior to that offered by the schools, whereas others maintain that it is mediocre and in need of considerable reform.

Whatever the case may be, it would nonetheless seem that this type of training offers little guarantee of success and that it is associated with a considerable number of failures, supervision of the apprentices is poor and the young immigrants find that they are faced with the same cultural difficulties in the theoretical part of their training as they encountered previously at school (limited ability to read and write).

3. The situation as regards employment and unemployment

Young workers, both immigrant and native Belgian, can make use of certain training schemes if they wish to fill in the gaps in their training or improve their qualifications once they have left school. There are two main ways of doing this, i.e. either by means of the "social advancement courses" (cours de promotion sociale) or by taking one of the courses in vocational training offered by the National Employment Office (Office National de l'Emploi ONEM).

3.1. The "social advancement" courses

Most of those attending the "social advancement" courses (evening classes oriented towards the attainment of the traditional objectives of secondary level technical and vocational education) are 18 years of age. In 1982 roughly 10 000 young foreigners were enrolled on these courses (out of a total number of 85 000 students).

No studies have as yet been conducted on the efficiency of the social advancement courses with regard to young migrants and, here again, opinions on the issue are widely divergent. On a general level it has been emphasized that

the percentage of drop-outs is very high (60 %).

3.2. The vocational training programme of the National Employment Office (ONEM)

Basically no difference is made between nationalities in any of the vocational training schemes for the unemployed organized by the ONEM.

In 1983 nearly 7 000 trainees under 25 years completed such training courses. Just over 800 of these were of immigrant origin.

While the training courses provided by the ONEM are generally considered to be of a high quality it is nonetheless appropriate to ask how accessible they are to the young foreigners.

What is most obvious is that the foreigners are more often oriented towards training courses preparing for occupations in the secondary sector than their Belgian counterparts. This would seem to indicate that at the ONEM, as in the other vocational training systems, the "second generation" continues to show a strong tendency to choose "blue-collar" occupations of a type similar to those of their predecessors in the first generation. It is also evident that the young Italians and Spaniards are over-represented on these courses, whereas the young Maghrebis and Turks are under-represented. (Again, this must be seen in relation to the level of basic education, which is worst among the Maghrebis and Turks.)

The whole trend in these schemes makes it look as if the ONEM were trying to attain maximum profitability of its training centres and, in order to achieve it, subjecting the applicants for places to a rigorous selection procedure which ruthlessly rejects the weakest. There is thus a tendency towards elitism in the ONEM's training system which more or less automatically relegates the

Maghrebian and Turkish candidates to a fringe position. There is little hope that there will be any relaxation of this trend in the next few years since the methods suggested by the "McKinsey Report" (1984) for improving the efficiency of the ONEM place more stress on the selection of candidates for the so-called "high level" courses.

In other words, the ONEM does not play an important part in any attempts to compensate for the difficulties of young immigrants whose primary education is lacking. Furthermore, this is yet another instance of a system poorly adapted to and incapable of coping with the specific requirements of the second generation immigrants.

4. Conclusions

As in other host countries the problem of the vocational training of immigrants in Belgium has been outstanding from the moment the country decided to make systematic use of foreign labour. For several years, despite recommendations and regulations issued at Community level and the simple realization of the fact that there could be no cultural or civic integration of the migrants if they remained on the fringe as regards jobs, there has been a general laissez-faire attitude and a tendency to behave as though "natural" adjustments of the market were all that was necessary.

The question of vocational training for immigrants has today moved to the top of the list of priorities as one of the major components of the problem posed by the "second generation", which throws a completely new light on a situation which it had been considered possible to leave in abeyance. As we have seen, integration into primary school remains more than problematic for the immigrants. The lack of equal opportunities in the school system, which has so often been decried in connection with the situation of Belgian working-class children, has for the foreigners become a source of real oppression ("école massacre").[16]

This initial deficit has serious repercussions when it comes

to starting vocational training proper, either in one of the schools which provide vocational education, where the young immigrants continue to encounter difficulties that are fundamentally no different from those they previously experienced in compulsory primary schooling, or in one of the non-school vocational training schemes (articles of indenture, social advancement courses or the ONEM programme) which cover only a minute proportion of the "second generation" and do not provide a comprehensive solution to the problem.

It is a known fact that without vocational qualifications these young people are more at risk of becoming unemployed than any other worker. A growing number of them receive only a fragmentary and negative view of society through the medium of the unemployment bureau or the police station. For these young people the only explanation for this situation is that they have been rejected by society, and this triggers an aggression which is more destructive than any prejudice against foreigners or racist behaviour on the part of the Belgians.

The present situation of the "second generation" is in fact very different from that encountered by the "first generation" and, to a great extent, from that with which the latter is at present faced, and is also, in more than one respect, far more serious. The "first generation" had no difficulty in becoming integrated into the labour market and retained as a reference point - even if this was symbolic - the possibility of reintegration in their countries of origin if the emigration project should fail. In fact, the long process of socialization, which would normally result in the condemnation of young second generation immigrants to the working class, ends in a vacuum, an absence of the opportunity to achieve definitive social integration.

What fundamentally distinguishes the second generation immigrants from the rest of society is the problematic nature of their positive social integration at all levels:

- at the cultural level they remain "foreigners", burdened with a confusion over identity,
- at the social level they continue to pay the price of the banishment of the migrant population to the fringes of society
- and at the work level they tend to abandon the work ethos of their parents and in all respects to suffer most from the negative effects of the economic crisis.

Taking into account this tendency towards overall social segregation, what can they do to obtain the minimum of social recognition without which they cannot continue to exist?

At present one solution proposed by some of the social and political bodies responsible is to provide proper vocational training as one means of improving young immigrants' opportunities to become socially integrated. The development of programmes to fill in the gaps in the structures of the existing training systems would provide comprehensive answers to a situation which, moreover, already gives cause for grave concern.

Nevertheless, since they are an indispensible condition of improvement, even if they will not suffice, programmes of this kind can only be set up and become successful if there is a minimum of concensus regarding their purpose and contents. We do not have the impression that this at present applies to the ongoing reforms (e.g. the reform of alternance training included in the provisions for the raising of the school-leaving age to 18 years).

In our opinion the following basic proposals should be the object of a preliminary consideration if the issue is to progress beyond the level of a "pious wish" to that of beneficial practice:

1. The setting-up or extension of existing projects in order to allow greater access to preparatory training for the purpose of repairing the damage presently caused by the current system. In other words, the policy of selection

normally practised should be replaced by one of motivation in order to take into account the needs not only of those among the young workers who are in the best position to be "retrieved" by an enterprise, but, on the contrary, also of those only poorly prepared for any form of vocational training.

2. The provision of vocational training proper which does not perpetuate the obstacles which are traditionally the downfall of those who, like the young immigrants, are culturally at a disadvantage. In this regard basic links should be established between the theoretical instruction and practical work experience on a site or on the shop floor. This is in fact a very different slant from that which has been operant in Belgium up to the present, where vocational training is still largely dominated by the model employed by the schools.

3. The provision of complementary courses allowing diversification of the skills obtained so that they become transferable. There is in fact an increasing demand on the labour market for workers who, while qualified for a specific job, are capable of adapting to changes and thus have the basic training necessary for such flexibility.

All these proposals should form part of a package of measures providing for the "positive discrimination" of the young immigrants, without which it will not be possible to remedy what still can be remedied.

As a final requirement, care must be taken that the training courses are not moulded to meet specific requirements of the labour market, but that on the contrary they prepare the trainees to start their careers with broad-based vocational qualifications, including a sound basic training and adequate socio-cultural competence. We have no way of knowing today what will be the requirements of industry in a few years' time. The rapid development of techniques, the growing obsolescence of knowledge and the restructuration of the tools of

production leave too many unknown quantities as regards the future structure of the labour market for one to wish to make the mistake of equating future conditions with the requirements of today.

Finally, the development of such vocational training programmes will make it necessary to re-evaluate all links and cooperation between the bodies responsible for guidance (the psycho-medico-social centres, selection system, etc.) for vocational training proper and for finding employment or effecting social integration.

Groupe d'Etude des Migrations*

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GENERAL REMARKS ON IMMIGRANTS IN DENMARK

Denmark has only limited experience as an immigration country. Foreign labour did not begin to be used more generally until 1967.

The waves of immigration that had taken place earlier embraced, on the whole, the following:

- Polish agricultural workers during the years 1893-1929 for employment in sugar-beet growing on Lolland, of whom about 5 000 became permanent residents.
- Jews from Russia and the Baltic States at the beginning of the 20th century (approx. 3 000).
- Jews escaping from Nazi persecution in Germany and Austria in the 1930s.
- Hungarian refugees after the uprising in Hungary in 1956 (approx. 1 400).

In recent years, and principally after 1967, immigration into Denmark has comprised three categories, as follows:

- Foreigners who came here in search of work, mostly from the countries Yugoslavia, Turkey and Pakistan - and subsequently the families of these foreigners.
- Political refugees, especially from Vietnam and Latin America.
- Foreign children adopted by Danish married couples - mulatto-children during the years following World War II and, later on, children from Korea, Thailand, Sri Lanka and India.

From the purely statistical standpoint, Denmark still does not have any great problem with immigrants, compared with a number of other European countries.

Altogether, there are a good 100 000 foreign nationals in Denmark, out of a good 5 million inhabitants - i.e. around 2%. Of this number, slightly less than one-quarter are foreigners from other Scandinavian countries, and about the same proportion are from EC Member States; thus, only a good 1% of the population are nationals in more distant countries.

The most important groups of immigrants from third countries, quantitatively, are:

Turks	approx. 17 800 (approx. 18% of the foreign nationals)
Pakistanis	approx. 7 000 (approx. 7% of the foreign nationals)
Yugoslavs	approx. 7 000 (approx. 7% of the foreign nationals)

The numbers of foreign nationals from the member states of the Nordic Economic Union and the EC have been very stable in more recent years, whereas the numbers of nationals from third countries have been rising - particularly those from Yugoslavia, Turkey and Pakistan - despite the fact that since the beginning of the 1970s immigration in general has been stopped, although it is

still possible for the purpose of reuniting families.

Age distribution

The age distribution among immigrants differs from that of the population in general, and this difference applies not least to the three major immigrant-nations as illustrated in Figure 1. The proportion of children, particularly the very small, is markedly larger among immigrants; at the same time, there are still only very few elderly immigrants.

Distribution by sex

The distribution of the sexes among immigrants was extremely uneven at the beginning of the 1970s, almost all of the immigrants being males. Since then the distribution has become more even, for the reason that the immigration of foreign workers in general was stopped and the subsequent increase in the number of immigrants has consisted of the reuniting of families and the birth of children to immigrant families in this country. As at 1 January 1982 the total proportions of male and female foreigners in Denmark were 53% and 47%, respectively, (see Figure 2).

Figure 1. Age-distribution pyramids,1 January 1982. (From special-subject booklet Nytland, Uddannelse 1983,No.2,p. 201).

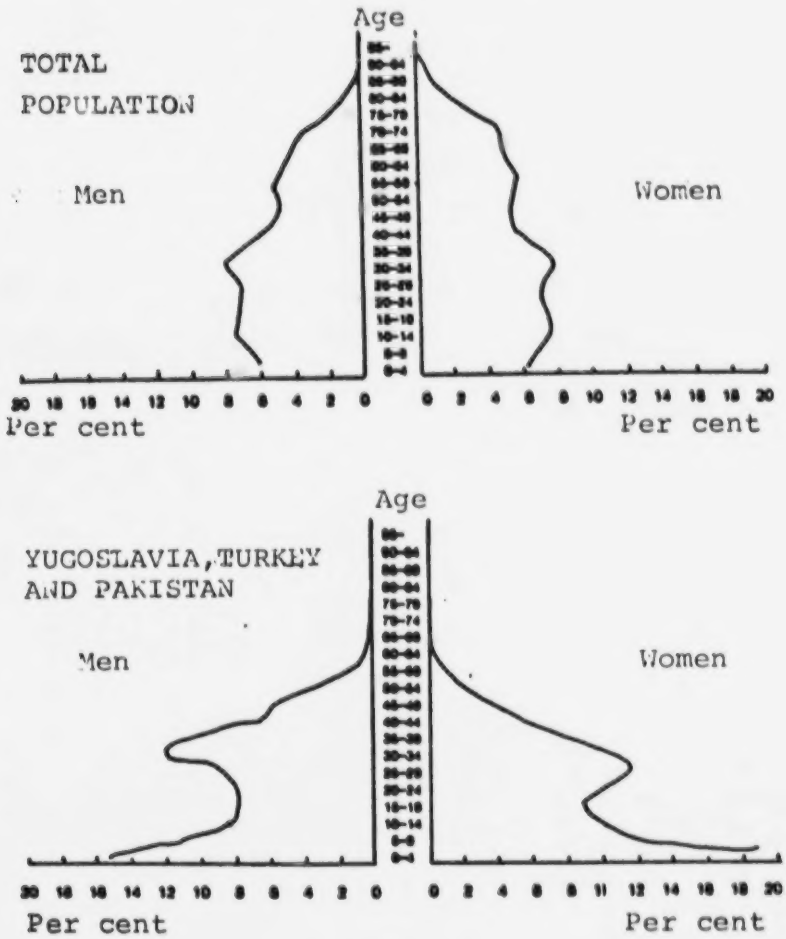

Figure 2. Number of foreign nationals as at 1 January 1982, by sex and nationality. (From Statistik om Invandrere, 1983)

	Nordic Econ. Union	EC + N. Amer.	Other	Of which: Pakistan[1]	Yugoslavia	Turkey	Total	Pct.
Men	9.450	15.216	29.069	4.747	3.847	9.595	53.735	52,7
Women	12.697	11.986	23.496	3.291	3.555	7.110	48.179	47,3
Total	22.147	27.202	52.565	8.038	7.402	16.705	101.914	100,0
Pct.	21,7	26,7	51,6	7,9	7,3	16,4	100,0	.

Source: Material at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.
Note: 1) Incl. Pakistanis with a British passport and Pakistan as their place of birth.

The distribution as between males and females among foreign nationals is most even among Yugoslavs, whereas there are markedly more women among foreigners from the Scandinavian countries and markedly more men among foreigners from other countries - both the EC and North America, and Pakistan and Turkey.

Very few of the foreigners from third countries become naturalized, even after many years' residence in Denmark. The reason for this has not been investigated in detail in Denmark; but one important factor is presumably immigrants continuing to cherish the hope of returning to their homeland.

Geographical distribution

The immigrants are far from evenly distributed over Denmark. The majority are concentrated in a limited number of municipalities within the metropolitan area and in a few of the larger provincial towns. Thus, 70% of the immigrants from third countries reside in twenty of the 275 municipalities in Denmark.

Within the individual municipality, immigrants are typically concentrated in particular districts.

Refugees

In addition to the immigrants who have come here as 'guest workers' and to the reuniting of families that has taken place in connection with this immigration, political refugees come to Denmark also - many of them from Vietnam, some from Eastern Europe and Latin America, and some, most recently, from Iran.

Up to the year 1982 inclusive, refugees came to Denmark mainly under international agreements. In 1983 a new law concerning aliens made it possible for other refugees to come, and in 1984 the number is rising sharply.

The legal position

The new law of 1983 concerning aliens limits the possibility of expelling foreigners who have acquired a more permanent connection with Denmark by virtue of a substantial period of residence in the country.

Bilateral social-welfare agreements have been concluded with the major immigrant-nations Turkey, Yugoslavia and Pakistan and, in general, the facilities for foreigners from third countries to receive pensions have been improved through a new law on social pensions in 1984.

In order to acquire the rights of a Danish national, the immigrant must normally have resided in Denmark for at least seven years and have a good knowledge of the Danish language.

IMMIGRANTS' EDUCATION

Only in the last few years has the number of immigrant-children in primary school (folkeskolen) attained a level such that the authorities have now really begun to give them attention; consequently, no major studies have yet been made of the problems that arise in connection with school pupils who speak a foreign language.

Thus, the increase in the number of pupils from the three biggest immigrant-nations has been as follows:

	1975	1978	1981
Turkey	467	1704	3370
Pakistan	48	750	1429
Yugoslavia	368	721	918

As mentioned earlier, the immigrants are distributed very unevenly over the municipalities of the country, and this therefore applies also to the number of foreign language-speaking pupils in the primary school: almost two-thirds (70.7%) of them are in 17 of the country's 275 municipalities.

What the trend in the primary school will be in the rather longer term is difficult to foresee, since it is not known what proportion of the 0-6 years-old immigrant-children in the country speak a foreign language and therefore will possibly need additional instruction in school. Nor is it known to what extent their families will accept the offer of instruction in their mother tongue. Moreover, it has been found that a high frequency of migration exists among immigrants, making longer-term planning of the educational effort at the local-authority level difficult,for this reason also. Finally, it is not possible to predict the arrival and placement of political refugees.

Integration

The Danish regulations on the education of foreign language-speaking pupils were drawn up in accordance with the resolutions of the Council of Europe first in the 1970s.

and in accordance with the discussions which preceded the EC-directive on this subject in 1976. The Danish educational system largely meets in practice the international requirements and recommendations.

The legal basis was laid down in Law No.313 of 26 June 1975 concerning the primary school,and the more detailed promulgation No.179 of 8 March 1976 based upon this law. The fundamental principle in these provisions is that it is important to give foreign language-speaking school-children the ability to follow the instruction, on an equal footing with the other pupils. The main effort is applied to teaching of the Danish language.

At the beginning of the 1970's 'reception classes' on the British model were organized in Copenhagen, where the largest concentration of immigrants existed also at that time. Reception classes are directed towards integration in the normal educational system and are intended primarily for children who have just arrived in Denmark. Gradual integration in the normal primary school takes place, commencing with participation in practical and musical subjects. An aim is to have part of the Danish-language instruction in the reception classes given by bilingual teachers who have command of the mother-tongue of the children concerned.

Instruction in the mother-tongue

The promulgation of 1976, mentioned earlier, requires local authorities to offer foreign language-speaking pupils

instruction in their own native language. If at least twelve with the same language apply, the local authority must arrange classes, and if there are fewer than this number the pupils are referred to classes organized on a county-basis. The instruction is for 3-5 hours a week, outside the normal school-hours of the pupils, and either in the afternoon on a normal workday or on Saturday morning.

The purpose of instruction in the mother-tongue is to improve the pupils' use of their native language and give an insight into the cultural and social conditions in their homeland.

The Ministry of Education reported in 1980 that 39% of the school pupils whom the schools consider to be foreign language-speaking took part in mother-tongue classes. Some groups of immigrants typically have a high percentage of participants - for example, the Yugoslav group in Copenhagen, where a survey in 1980 revealed 86%-participation (92 out of a total of 107 pupils). Other immigrant-groups - political refugees, for example - have a lower percentage of participation.

Finishing at primary school

In general, being remiss in attendance at primary school is no more common among foreign language-speaking pupils than among the others. For girls, however - Turkish girls, in particular - absence increases sharply at puberty, and for boys school is missed frequently between the ages of 14 and 16 years, when they have a lot of work.

A survey of immigrant-pupils leaving primary school in the municipality of Copenhagen shows the following results, summarized here:

- In general, academic knowledge is not much lower than that of the Danish pupils; but knowledge of the Danish language leaves much to be desired.
- A comparison made between the different ethnic groups shows the Yugoslavs at the top of the list in academic performance; the Pakistanis do well, too, but the Turks are at a distinctly lower level.
- Family background plays a role, in that there is a tendency for the children to have a better academic performance if one or both parents have had an education.

The survey does not reveal any correlation between the sex of the pupil and academic knowledge.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

The majority by far of young immigrants from third countries take up unskilled work or become unemployed after primary school.

Very few of the young immigrants from third countries continue in the lower or upper secondary school after leaving primary school.

Youth school

One possibility for young people who do not start training or a job after primary school is to attend the youth school

(ungdomsskole), which is organized under the control of the local authority. The youth school has a wide choice regarding the subjects and methods offered to the young people. In general, the youth school places the emphasis upon practical subjects; but it can also offer preparation for the primary school-leaving examinations.

In some municipalities, special courses for young immigrants are arranged under the youth school. This is the case in Copenhagen, where a pilot project was carried out during 1977-78, with aid from the EC social welfare fund and in co-operation with Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke(International Co-operation scheme). On the basis of the results from this project, after 1979 more permanent courses of preparation for jobs and training were established under the youth school for young immigrants.

The courses are for foreigners between 16 and 24 years of age who have become unemployed for the first time. The students receive instruction in Danish, current affairs and their mother-tongue, for 1-6 months -depending on the knowledge they already possess. Following courses of this kind, the young people are offered an opportunity to continue in the local authority's various projects for young unemployed, together with young Danes.

Basic vocational training

No record is available of the number of immigrants who have been accepted for basic vocational training in Denmark, or of

the number of immigrants who have successfully completed such a course.

Basic vocational training is alternance training which can be designed according to two different models, namely the traditional apprenticeship and a basic vocational training course (bvt), introduced in 1972 on an experimental basis and in 1977 as a permanent arrangement, but still as a parallel system to the apprenticeship. However, there are a number of trades in which the apprenticeship has been abolished. Under apprenticeship, the young person starts in a training post immediately, whereas bvt starts with one year's broader basic education at school, after which the young person continues with alternance training.

A small proportion of the immigrants seem to have gained admission primarily to bvt. The only requirement specified for bvt is that the young person shall have had - in Denmark or in his country of origin - education equivalent to nine years' schooling. No primary school-leaving examination is required. Therefore, in theory at least, the young immigrants are on an equal footing with other young people on admission to bvt; but in order really to have equal treatment, they must be informed that these favourable conditions for admission to bvt exist and they must have information on vocational training in general.

It has been found that the existing information does not always function effectively enough for this special group of young people, and there are special difficulties involved

in providing the families of the young persons with what is for them meaningful information and guidance on the possibilities for training. In addition, however, there are a number of hidden requirements. Nine years of schooling in Denmark provides a background different from what would have been acquired if this schooling had taken place - partially, at least - in, for example, Turkey or Pakistan. And the instruction given in the vocational schools is designed for pupils with a Danish upbringing.

Introductory courses

In 1981, experiments were started with 7-8-week introductory courses for refugees, for the bvt-courses. The results of these experimental courses were largely favourable; although it was agreed that they were of too short duration.

No funds have since been set aside for introductory courses of this kind, designed especially for basic vocational training. Courses for wider purposes are held by Dansk Flygtningehjaelp (Danish Aid to Refugees)

Experience with immigrants in bvt

Danish legislation provides opportunities for aid to be given to handicapped young persons under basic vocational training - and "handicap" is understood also to include a linguistic handicap in relation to the other students, if the young person concerned does not have Danish as his mother-tongue.

Assistance can consist of, for example, interpreting-service or extra Danish-language lessons, but also help within the various technical disciplines. There seems to be a great need

among immigrants to have an opportunity to have additional instruction in Danish by choosing Danish as an optional subject in the bvt-base year - as, it should be noted, a foreign language, adapted to suit the quite special academic requirements of the immigrants.

Immigrant-students want such instruction in the Danish language to be tied directly - in both timing and content - to the technical subjects with which they are working. In this way, the instruction will provide an opportunity to go over the technical subject-matter again and to study in depth the technical terminology used.

Interest has been shown by the Danish authorities in offering the young immigrants an opportunity in the bvt-base year to choose their native language as an optional subject. This could be regarded as an extension of the offer of 3-5 hours a week of instruction in their mother-tongue in the primary school.

However, experience so far shows that most of the young immigrants who start bvt have to make such an effort to familiarize themselves with the Danish training that they simply do not have, at that time, anything left for studying their own mother-tongue and cultural background also.

One great difficulty for immigrants in vocational training is their difficulty, linguistically, in understanding the instructional material. This applies not least to the written work-instructions in the workshops of technical schools. Even Danish-speaking students often have problems in

understanding the instructions correctly. Moreover, many of the vocational teachers were previously skilled tradesmen and their trade-jargon constitutes an additional difficulty in communication for the foreign language-speaking students.

However, the difficulty lies not only in the teachers not being aware of the language used, but also in their lack of experience in dealing with students with a different cultural background. A special effort is thus required, to provide vocational teachers with the basis necessary for working with immigrant-students in vocational training. This basis includes both cognitive and attitudinal aspects.

In the National Vocational Teacher Training Institution (SEL) we are aware of the problems and they are being studied as part of the basic vocational teacher-training course. In addition, there have been plans to offer vocational teachers short further-training courses in immigrant-problems; but the Ministry of Education did not allow these plans to be implemented.

Dropping-out from bvt

No complete studies are available concerning the experience of young immigrants in vocational training. It is estimated that about one-half of the immigrants in Copenhagen-municipality drop out before completing the first year of the basic vocational training course. Even if they do complete the basic training, the difficulties remain, since it is a great problem for them then to find an on-job training post in industry. The economic recession has caused racism to

flourish, with the result that fewer employers wish to take on immigrants, and if the immigrants do not find a practical training post they are prevented from completing their vocational training.

Adult training

The adult vocational training courses that are of interest in connection with immigrants fall into several categories.

Danish Aid to Refugees' Language School

Danish Aid to Refugees (Dansk Flygtningehjaelp) receives the newly-arrived refugees at the language school. The refugees are given financial assistance for up to 18 months, after which aid can, if required, be sought under the Law concerning financial aid (bistandsloven), as for Danes in general. At the Danish Aid to Refugees' language school, instruction is given in accordance with a training model as follows:

Stage I	Basic course
Stage II	Continuation course
Stage III	Finishing course

The progress made in the students' learning varies greatly; consequently, the time spent by each student in each of the stages in the model varies also, some of the students finding three months sufficient, while others take perhaps a whole year to reach Stage III.

When the course is completed, Aid to Refugees assists the refugees through a consultant, who follows the progress made by the individuals. The consultant will, for example,

visit refugees starting on a basic vocational training course, 2 or 3 times during the basic year.

EIFL-courses

EIFL-courses ('erhvervsintroducerende kurser for langtidsledige' - introductory vocational training courses for the long-term unemployed) are held at 'EI-centres' attached to the semi-skilled worker schools (specialarbejderskoler) which are spread about the country. There are special EIFL-courses for immigrants.

EIFL-courses are normally of 16 weeks' duration; but for the immigrant-courses there is, in addition, a final 4-week module of practical job experience. The courses may vary somewhat in structure, according to the composition of the participants and the location of the course in the country, since the subjects taught may be directed towards local job opportunities.

Semi-skilled worker courses

Semi-skilled worker courses are not directed especially towards immigrants, but are specifically job-orientated, modular course-series for employees and unemployed persons. Each module is normally of 1-3 weeks' duration. Attending such courses on completion of an EIFL-course may be recommended to immigrants, in order to improve their job opportunities. Immigrants often encounter difficulties of a linguistic and possibly cultural nature in these cases. No precise figures are available as to the number of immigrants attending these courses; but it is likely that the courses are used less by immigrants than by Danes and that the percentage of immigrants completing them is lower than the percentage of Danes.

Other courses

A number of different types of courses for immigrants have appeared during the last few years, in connection with measures to promote employment and usually financed by a combination of central-government and county-funding.

WORK AND UNEMPLOYMENT

The circumstances of immigrants with regard to work and unemployment broadly follow the pattern that we have seen in the earlier sections of this report. Immigrants from countries of the Nordic Economic Union, EC member-states and North America have circumstances which do not differ very much from those of the population as a whole,whereas the situation for immigrants from third countries is markedly different.

The number of self-employed persons and senior employees is small in the case of foreigners from third countries, the largest group for the latter being unskilled workers.

The break-down of unemployment as between the different groups in 1981 was as follows.

	Men	Women	Total
Denmark, as a whole	12.3	11.8	12.1
Yugoslavia	21.1	22.9	21.9
Turkey	32.0	41.3	34.8
Pakistan	24.7	34.0	27.9

It will be noted that unemployment is in all cases much higher for the three immigrant-nations than for Denmark as a whole and that there are marked differences between the three immigrant-nations; also that unemployment is especially high for Turkish women.

According to statistics, unemployment for young immigrants is rather lower than where the figures cover all age groups; but this is due to the fact that far from all of the young persons are registered as unemployed.

FAMILY CIRCUMSTANCES AND HOUSING

For some groups of immigrants, to allow girls to attend school after the age of 12-13 is against their cultural principles and they therefore come into conflict with the Danish requirement of nine years of schooling for all children.

The attitudes towards boys' education are characterized by two diametrically-opposed viewpoints. Either the family considers it an advantage to allow the boys to be educated and therefore have a better chance of obtaining a well-paid job, or else the family is interested in getting them into a job as quickly as possible, so that they can contribute to the income of the family - often with a view to saving, if the dream of going home has not been abandoned.

The Pakistani family pattern

The typical picture of the Pakistani immigrant-family is as follows. The father has immigrated first. He works hard and saves so that he can pay for the trip for his wife and

children to join him some years later. The change in the country of residence brings changes in role assignment within the family. The mother undertakes work outside the home - initially, at least - and for the older girls a quite difficult situation now arises, in that they are now required to assume a responsibility for the smaller children which in their homeland - to some extent, at least - would have rested with adult members of the extended family. Since the family is rarely together, the parents perhaps do not experience these stresses.

The majority of adult male Pakistanis can communicate orally in English and some of them have years of schooling behind them. The women are not in a similar situation and they therefore often feel very isolated.

The Turkish family pattern

A study carried out in Odense revealed the following picture of the family pattern for Turkish immigrants.

The fathers arrived about seven years before their wives. They have on average four children. Contact is maintained with the homeland and they spend almost all of their holidays in Turkey each year or every other year.

Generally speaking, there is little participation in Danish social life. The attitude towards the children's schooling, including instruction in the Danish language, is favourable.

The Yugoslav family pattern

The Yugoslav immigrant families embrace four language groups: Serbo-Croat, Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish. The largest number come from Macedonia.

Contact with the home-region is extremely close and the family often continues to own both a house and land in the home country. The money earned in Denmark is invested in building projects in Yugoslavia and it is very common for some of the members of the family to stay in the home district,to take care of certain matters, in turn.

The relations with the school are good. In most cases the families assist with the children's school work - which can be attributed to the fact that the families often are working towards returning to the homeland, and to the fact that the Yugoslav authorities require documentary proof of the extent of the education in Denmark.

Another typical feature of this immigrant group is that social life is very active and that social gatherings for the language group as a whole are organized.

Young female immigrants

A number of factors make the situation particularly difficult for the young female immigrants:

- They speak Danish badly;

- they have no vocational training and, moreover, their general education is in many instances incomplete (whether they grew up in Denmark or in their home country);
- owing to their cultural principles, they prefer to have training or work in which there is as little contact as possible with men.

The housing situation

The immigrant families live typically in expensive, newer flats initially,and then perhaps move to districts with old flats in the inner city area.

A survey from 1980 on housing density shows that one-quarter of the immigrant families live more than two persons to a room, whereas this is the case for only one per cent of the total number of households in Denmark.

Conclusion

In the last few years there have been signs in official quarters that they are beginning to acknowledge that immigrants are not merely 'guest workers', but constitute a more permanent part of the population in Denmark, and that there thus is a need for more systematic treatment of the problems of immigrants.

Danish policy on immigrants can be explained as a policy of

integration, in accordance with the official description of EC-policy on minorities and immigrants.

A number of research projects on Danish as a foreign language have been started in the last few years. These projects are now already showing tangible results in the offer of training for immigrant teachers, in both the primary school and within general adult education.

In the Danish teacher-training college, immigrants are now being trained as Danish primary school teachers, in special groups, and this can have the dual effect in the primary school of improving opportunities to preserve immigrant cultures, while at the same time the Danish children gain knowledge of - and certainly also different attitudes towards - the cultural background which the immigrants bring with them.

Unfortunately, there is a national characteristic in the Danish make-up, which says"You must not believe that you are something special". This is an exaggerated form of the idea of equality in which everything must be levelled down and in which special positive features must not exist, because they are regarded as a threat to the notion of equality.

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France

CEDEFOP

This synthesis report
was drawn up by Jean-Marie Raimond
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Project coordinator : Duccio Guerra

This is the second study to be undertaken as part of a project on
"THE VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF YOUNG MIGRANTS IN BELGIUM, FRANCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM, DENMARK AND LUXEMBOURG".
It includes the latest and most relevant documentation and statistical data on this subject.

This study which looks at the overall situation of the immigrant population, and young immigrants in particular, analyses such problem areas as the transition from school to working life and the inadequacies of initial training with relation to the vocational training, employment and unemployment situation.

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CONTENTS

	Pages
THEM AND US	1
WHERE DO THEY COME FROM?	2
AS REGARDS INFORMATION SOURCES	3
THE ENVIRONMENT AND ITS EFFECTS	5
INTEGRATION AND IDENTITY	6
A KEY ISSUE	8
SCHOOL	9
AND THEN?	12
TRANSITION	13
TRAINING	15
"ACTIVE" LIFE	16
IN BRIEF	18

1. THEM AND US

20 April, 1985: 65th Congress of the League for Human Rights. According to a statement of President Mitterand, "without reaching the scale we haveknown in the recent past, the blood stains of racism have survived in our country"; he spoke out against xenophobia, addressed above all to the most disadvantaged group of foreigners. Social injustice is added to racism. He then states: "The participation of immigrants - those who have been in France for a certain length of time - in local administration, in order that they may avail themselves of rights which correspond to those of French citizens, seeing as their lives are affected by them, appears to me to be a fundamental demand which must be met. However, the government (...) must also take into account existing customs".

The problem of the integration of immigrants in a pluralistic society such as that of France has been raised, but there is a clear distance between a just demand "...which is an eluctible element of our laws ..." and a collective mentality which is not yet receptive: "One must not expose oneself to the risk of total rejection".

At the same time, a new message is circulating amongst the young North Africans living in Marseilles: "I exist, therefore I vote; I vote, and therefore I exist!" and similar initiatives can be identified, particularly in the north and in the Paris region.

The issue of participation in local administration for former immigrants and the greater participation of young people of foreign origin who have acquired French nationality give rise to aspirations, conflicts within the families, resistance of public opinion and substantial political implications.

However, the integration of young people, few of whom adhere to the myth of a return home, as upheld by the generation of their parents, can only be achieved through the right to vote, if at all.
Unfortunately, the problem is much greater. Children born in an immigration process linked with economic growth are becoming adolescents and adults with many handicaps, and in addition are faced with a period of crisis.

In the following, an attempt is made to summarize a documentary study carried out on a number of significant features regarding the integration of young people of foreign origin in France, and in particular, their training. It is not a condensation of all the documents, interviews and results of the final study, but simply an overview which does not go into detailed facts and figures, but is intended as an indicator of the most important problems facing this second generation. It should also be pointed out that it is even less a summary of the complex experience and everyday life of these young people.

2. WHERE DO THEY COME FROM?

Quite simply, almost 2.8% of the population of France is concerned. More than 4 out of 10 of the 4,000,000 foreigners resident in France are under 25. Not only do they account for at least 1.5m, but it should also be noted that there is a significant increase in their proportional numbers as a result of the fact that the young French population is not growing at the same rate. Amongst the young foreigners, the Algerians are the dominant group: almost 380,000, followed closely by the Portuguese, a little over 350,000. Accordingly, these two nationalities account for almost half the young people of foreign origin. However, another view of the figures shows

that as a group, the north Africans (Algerians, Moroccans, Tunisians) account for almost 45% and those from the Iberian peninsula (Portuguese and Spaniards) almost 30%.

Even if one should avoid making hasty conclusions, almost three-quarters have their origin in two major cultural zones in which the links between religion and power are marked by strong traditions and have great influence on the definition of social roles, particularly concerning the status of women.

This observation is all the more important in view of the closing gap between girls and boys which, in 1975, was 4.2 points, whilst in 1982 was no more than 2.6.

It should also be noted that 1 out of 3 of these young people is in the process of entering the labour market.

Apart from these general - of necessity simplified - facts, it must be said that these "second generation migrants" cannot be forced into a single mould. Their situations differ considerably. They do not all experience their common poverty in the same way and often there are worlds between them. It should also be stressed that apart from the antagonism and racism with which they are faced, and the movements offering support, welcome and solidarity, their presence has become a structural factor: a menace for some, a benefit for others; but above all, it is a challenge, both economic and social, but in particular, cultural.

3. AS REGARDS INFORMATION SOURCES

To meet the requirements of CEDEFOP for this study, it was necessary to adopt an approach and research structure which would enable a comparison to be made amongst various Member States of the European Community. This requirement was based on a sound and extremely detailed study previously assigned to BIBB.

Whilst this may be good for the discovery of new information, it nevertheless proved a source of difficulties which could not be passed over in silence.

There was no lack of literature on the subject: several hundred academic works, articles, journals, observations, etc. However, the majority refer to a specific point in time, and are extremely specialized, but whilst offering very interesting information, they do not allow conclusions of general or national validity to be drawn with the necessary rigour. Without making reference to all the existing sources, we based our work on more than fifty publications, three or four of which corresponded to the objectives, and on a number of interviews and contacts in the field.

Although all this information and experience allows a reasonably accurate and just idea to be obtained concerning the situations in which young people of foreign origin find themselves, general statistics are rare, apart from those of the census and those of the Ministry for the Interior (which contain a number of deviations which are explicable, but nonetheless very important) and those of the Ministry for National Education. Regarding other statistics on representative samples of the population, they are, to say the least, deficient; to make things worse, they are difficult to compare and are practically impossible to extrapolate. (There is even less possibility of making a comparison with other countries). For example, in one case, we find information on the general percentage of foreigners undergoing training without a distinction being made by age, whilst in another case, a grouping by age occurs without any reference to nationality.

Two other elements must be taken into account with regard to the set problem: on the one hand, the fact that the official nationality (e.g. the young north African having acquired French nationality) does not, in any way, reduce

the sociological and cultural difficulties - here there are two realities which do not coincide in real life; the other factor, the political intention - otherwise commendable - of avoiding a marginalization of foreigners resulted in their not being labelled as such in the numerous statistical surveys (for example from the time they enter a public education system).
Added to the previous criticism of the statistical sources, these reservations do not facilitate a sociologically rigorous study or, in some cases, a greater degree of accuracy.

4. THE ENVIRONMENT AND ITS EFFECTS

A number of writers, basing their statements on various comparisons, tend to show that young people of foreign origin are not very different from those young French people with an identical socio-economic origin. There is undeniably a great deal of truth in their remarks. Nevertheless, there are a number of specific characteristics linked with the phenomenon of immigration which have a serious effect on their development and are added to the difficulties experienced by French youngsters.

Not only are these young people as individuals hostages of the economic and social adventure of their countries of origin - and of our country - but they are also bound by the consequences of their parents' immigration. One cannot disregard the factors governing the settlement of their parents geographical concentration in different regions of France, employment in industries which today find themselves in a difficult situation, poor qualifications, delicate material and psychological situation, families uprooted and separated from their country of origin. These elements lead to a marginalization both at an urban and social level and their accumulation has a condensing effect with regard to the difficulties experienced by young people.

The great majority live with their family until marriage and in a situation of need, in frequently unhealthy accommodation, there is the additional factor of over-population which has a decisive effect on the education process and the future of the children and adolescents. But there are perhaps even more serious elements: in this universe, "the family" which traditionally serves as a focal point for custom and values, plays a much greater role, the sole point of reference and identification in a hectic and troubled life. Apart from the classical conflict between generations, it is here, too, that the difference between the migratory situation of the parents and that situation, perhaps different, which their children are aiming at.

This is particularly true for young girls, for whom, despite an increase in the employment of foreign female labour, particularly in the tertiary sector, the unemployment rate has risen from 37% to 45.7% between 1975 and 1982. But this is not the most important feature. Despite the fact that in general they display a higher level of education and knowledge of the language than boys, they are affected more by the cultures of origin. They differ from boys in that they have a more modern attitude and place more weight on less traditional cultural values. However, they find it more difficult to link their environment with the little independence in the roles given to them by tradition and religion and this places them in a situation of considerable conflict, so much so that an attempt to escape sometimes ends tragically (this concerns particularly young north African girls).

5. INTEGRATION AND IDENTITY

It is through these dimensions that the young people establish their identities. Cultural integration, a process of which they are practically unaware, develops through everyday life. All the elements of social and cultural life act as carriers and reference models differing from

those of their countries of origin, and by consequence, the young people resist the influence of the cultures of origin and the corresponding expectations of their parents.

As a result, a number of writers refer to a "sub-culture". It is certain that here, at the heart of social life, the first difficulties are to be found concerning a possible integration. The absence of linking elements, the "schizophrenic gap" between these three educational areas: the family, school and society, can only increase these difficulties. Neither the education system nor the various social ties can associate them with their parental situation (or that of their brothers, in the case of young north Africans). It is not surprising that in this disrupted world, one finds the emergence of an Islamic revival which, as a factor of integration, can claim to "fill the cultural void".

In brief: the classical conflict between adolescents and their parents, the difference in the plans and aspirations of young people as compared with those of the previous generation, a life divided into three areas without communication and the precarious material and psychological situation existing in all these areas, are not conducive to integration. How can an identity be created against the background of a double negation: neither French nor Portuguese, Algerian nor Yugoslav? For this reason, a number of authors do not refer to a "second generation", but to a "zero generation".

6. A KEY ISSUE

Statistics for higher education show that in 1981/1982 12.8% of the university population, i.e. 114,000 students, were of foreign origin: 55% of African origin, more than one-third from north Africa. There is, however, no evidence as to whether they were studying on grants provided by their countries, whether they were children of members of the diplomatic service, or children of immigrants, and in this case, whether of executive or non-executive status. There is, however, a good indication that the latter are poorly represented and are an exception.

From the beginning of the integration process, the majority are faced with the problem of the French language. Their practical life, education and contacts support this. Whether they be young people who arrived in France at the age of 3, 6, 10 or 15, or whether they were born in France, that is young people of French nationality almost "without knowing it": their command of the language is certainly not the only condition for integration, but, nevertheless, one of the basic conditions. It bears a weight on their whole development, their education, orientation and their subsequent training. This important point of departure underlies all the problems and is present in all these analyses: a poor knowledge of the language is a handicap which has repercussions at all levels of educational and social integration.

If the present minister for national education in 1985 spoke out in favour of a return to basic disciplines: reading, writing, arithmetic etc. for all French people, one can easily imagine its much greater significance for school children of foreign origin. In this respect, one cannot place enough emphasis on the basic role of pre-elementary and elementary education. The material living conditions are all the more important (accommodation, large families, health) and, as pointed out, are a

disturbing factor often aggravated by the wish of the parent to cultivate the language and culture of origin and the fact that the parents themselves are often unable to help their children in learning the language of the host country.

7. SCHOOL

It is in this context that Ahmed or Clara learn to "grow up". And in 1982 to 1983, there are more than one million (1,025,300), two-thirds in "first degree" education and one-third in the "second degree". In all, they represent 10% and 6.1% of the pupils in the two degrees, respectively, whilst only a few years ago, they accounted for only 5%. This feature should, however, be compared with other developments. Between 1975/1976 and 1982/1983, the foreign population in the school system rose from the index 100 to the index 125.4. In the same time, however, the total school population dropped from the index 100 to 98.7. This gives a better idea of the significance of this phenomenon. This situation is aggravated by a geographical concentration and a mixture of individuals of different origins. This gives rise to specific pedagogical problems which are difficult to solve, regardless of the efforts undertaken and the measures which are planned.

The annex provides a simplified overview of the education system, and it is important to give it due inspiration. During the schooling period, that is, the majority of the time up to the age of 16, the game is practically over. That is to say that the important phases in the development of young people occur before this age. This has been stressed in respect of the knowledge of the language and pre-elementary schooling. (It should be noted, for example, that 60% of primary school pupils born abroad did not have any pre-schooling). The picture one obtains here is that of two sets of laws issuing from the same

source. Even if the angles separating them initially is very small, the longer the path, the greater the gap between the two. Transition to primary school (first degree schooling) has serious consequences. (This remark applies to the migrants born or arriving in France at a particular age ... and more particularly to those who join their families at a later age).

Three fundamental comments and a number of figures are required at this point. The first concerns the handicap resulting from this poor knowledge of the language. This has its consequences with regard to the age considered to be normal for transition to a higher class and may involve repetition of classes, orientation towards "specialized" schooling and "adaptation classes" whilst introductory lessons and remedial schooling could perhaps have been the answer. The second is related to the unjust confusion between intellectual difficulty or deficiency and a simple lack of knowledge concerning the language. Here, the orientation and applied criteria are questioned. The third results from the previous two: young people of foreign origin are in general under-represented in normal and "noble" streams and under-represented in the more basic streams. Accordingly the percentage of those in normal primary schooling is a function of pre-schooling, but compared with the percentage of young French people, it is also a function of the socio-professional status of the father! The son of a foreign semi-skilled worker will be less successful than the son of a French semi-skilled worker (a 5 point gap on 30). At the same level, the young foreigner is normally older. In brief, only a third of the young foreigners educated entirely in France enjoy a normal primary schooling as opposed to half of the young French pupils. Let us finish with a significant indicator: entry to the sixth class. Whilst seven out of ten French pupils enter the sixth class (normal), only 6.5 out of 10 foreigners born in France and 5.2 born abroad enter this grade, regardless of the differences of sex.

Certainly, it could be argued that in former times, 40% of the young people of the same cohort had not obtained the famous "education certificate", but that was before the war. Unfortunately, nowadays, the role of the family environment, the drop in social standards and the inadequacies of the education system all have a negative effect.

The consequences of this terrible notion of increasing poverty are by no means surprising. The general comparative statistics concerning the numbers of young people of foreign origin and young French people in the CES, CET, LET etc. as opposed to the "Lycée" speak for themselves. The detailed comparisons of the development of more limited groupings also show that in the third class (normal) there are 45 French out of 100 and only 35 foreigners out of 100 whilst in the CAP, there are 15.6 French out of 100, as opposed to 25.3 foreigners/100. Orientation towards working life is even more prominent: 6.27 foreigners out of 100, as opposed to 2.82 French. The same lack of proportion is to be found in the second cycle: orientation towards BEP 64 foreigners out of 100, as opposed to 40 French out of 100, but at the Lycée, 60 French as opposed to 36 foreigners out of 100. To be sure, various measures have been undertaken over the last few years, both with regard to structures facilitating transition, measures involving the training of teaching staff, and changes in curriculum to take into account the cultures of origin. Nevertheless, these measures are limited in comparison with the needs. A coming report of Jacques Berque, Professor at the Collège de France, commissioned by the Minister for National Education, is likely to confirm the general aspects of this analysis, particularly concerning the issue of language and the disadvantages of immigrant children with regard to schooling.

8. AND THEN?

Whether they were born in France or arrived there at different ages in the course of a re-grouping of their families, it is at the end of this eliminating course that the adolescents of foreign origin begin life at 16. What opportunities are open to them? For the most gifted and/or favoured: higher education. We have already seen the situation here; one should have no illusions; even without exact statistics, there is every evidence that the number of young people who take up studies is very limited.

For the others, what are their chances? The first, having acquired professional skills, could enter working life by finding or seeking a job. The second, would be to acquire a qualification which is either lacking or proves inadequate. Finally, the third, assuming that even this level is not achieved, would be to undergo preparatory training.

It should be pointed out straightaway that for the total of approximately 5 to 600,000 young people reaching the age of 16, there are no general statistics which indicate how they are divided into the four groups mentioned above. The phenomenon has not been studied in its entirety. An attempt may be made to obtain a partial answer by investigating each of these paths, but with the realization that in the end, the result will be incomplete, and above all, even if they are made subject to a rigorous investigation, the results will not enable a true picture to be made of the overall situation. Here there is a serious gap to which attention must be drawn in view of the present and future importance of this social phenomenon. Although the principle of avoiding the marginalization of young people by re-inserting them, as far as possible in main-stream provision is commendable, and justified, this has as a consequence, the effect of depriving those concerned with these groups at various levels of a certain amount of useful information.

9. TRANSITION

Let us begin with the weakest group: those who are unable to enter the labour market or undergo supplementary training. There are two doors open to them: the "reception" structures and pre-training.

Essentially, the reception structures involve the "missions locales" (numbering 62 at the end of 1983) and the reception, information and guidance centres. Hereto, it should be noted that there is a lack of statistics and that the tasks of these organizations are not specifically oriented to the needs of young foreigners. Nevertheless, this group accounts for a significant proportion of young people using the service (70% at Venissieux or Marseilles, for example). However, the percentage varies considerably and can double between two locations twenty kilometers apart. In general, the percentage of young males is higher than that of young femals; the majority of young people come from the working class, and often young foreigners find themselves together with young French people having a common history of social and educational failure. AFPA, for its part, in cooperation with ANPE, organizes the joint or individual information sessions. Two sample surveys of young people using the service in two two-week periods (end of 1983 and beginning of 1984) totalling 12,000, provided the following information: 12% were foreigners and 5% were those who had acquired French nationality. 37% declared themselves as having one or two foreign parents and 43% of the total were under 24 (as opposed to 58.5% of the French). It is difficult to extrapolate these figures to cover a year and even more so, to relate the number of people benefitting from the counselling service with the much greater number of those who are in need of such service.

Pre-training activities have been thoroughly remodelled on the basis of recent literature, with a view to adapting such action to meet the real needs of the young people concerned. A new link is being established between the acquisition of literary skills and pre-training as well as between pre-training and qualifications (also amongst the financing bodies: F.A.S. and F.N.E.). In 1983, F.A.S. financed 691 training courses or the equivalent of approximately 240,000 group hours, this involving 74 organizations. Various sources and observations made over a number of years indicate that the number of 16 to 18 year-olds involved varies at around a general maximum of 4000 to 5000. Two significant points must be made: with regard to the needs, the number is small from the point of view of quantity; qualitatively, the orientation function designed as an accompanying and follow-up measure has not yet achieved its objective, although over the last few years its significance has been more and more acknowledged; in any case, there are not sufficient details available for valid judgement of the overall situation to be given. Furthermore, it is still too much a function of criteria which are linked with our cultural systems and which unfortunately often result in waiting periods which are synonymous with wastage and discouragement.

10. TRAINING

By training we mean those activities which lead to a qualification. Again, the problem of a lack of statistics arises. It is true that the "major training institutions" predominate: ministry for national education, AFPA, the relevant organizations of the Chambers of Industry and Commerce, and other associations. However, there is little possibility, on the basis of their training activities, to determine which activities relate specifically to people of foreign origin and young people between 16 and 25. It is only on the basis of selective, restricted information on specific target groups or funding systems that certain conclusions can be drawn.

AFPA, who, from 1970 to 1980, received approx. 12.5% of the foreign trainees, also proposes a separate classification by nationality and by age-group, without providing for a correlation of the two. A recent study shows that over six months (from September 1982 to February 1983) the number of foreigners taking the final training examination numbered 11,783. It is also a known fact that certain sectors are more attractive than others: construction sector (shell structures) 23%, mechanic and metalworking sector in general 21%, textile sector 23%. It can also be seen that in respect of training for level 4 and 2, foreigners account for 5% as opposed to 2% of the trainees from the overseas territories and 93% French (home country). In the case of training for level 5, however, the percentages are 17, 8 and 75, respectively. In addition to these figures, it is also possible to obtain information on collective attitudes which differ according to country of origin and to training. However,it is difficult to go any further in the area of interest to us here.

With regard to the Ministry for National Education - statistics, in as much as they relate to initial training, are not readily available. In 1983 it can be seen that training activities for migrant workers involved almost 20,000 individuals - i.e. almost 3,000,000 trainee hours. However, there are no figures for the 16 - 25 age group. On the other hand, it has been established that training courses for the age group 16 - 18 covered almost 75,000 individuals in 1983. Unfortunately, this figure is not differentiated by nationality.

There remain three sectors of training to be investigated: the activities of the various organizations under the auspices of the Chambers of Industry and Commerce, ASFO and other associations; in-company training, and the extremely official form of training in preparation for a return to the country of origin. In respect of the

first two sectors, we are not aware of the existence of any figures relating to young people. Concerning training in enterprises, it would seem that few of the activities constitute voluntary action to integrate young migrants, but would rather seem to be the result of a policy of adaptation or industrial pragmatism. With regard to training in preparation for a return home, the dominant feature would appear to be both a political, postulate and a sociological myth. It is true that in some cases bi-lateral agreements have led to efficient but costly and limited operations. Consequently, on the basis of the facts and the metalities of those who translate them into practical terms, one has to return to the problem of the integration of the majority of young people of foreign origin.

These different approaches leave the observer with a feeling of frustration. Regardless of the efforts made, one is left with the impression of a quantitative and qualitative inadequacy vis à vis the problem at issue.

11. "ACTIVE" LIFE

Whether it follows immediately after leaving school or after a period of training and regardless of whether this is preceded by retraining or not, the situation of young people on the labour market presents two aspects, in that the term "active" covers both those who are seeking employment and those who have the privilege of holding a job.

Concerning the latter, there are unfortunately no tables whatsoever which provide a breakdown by economic activity, age-group and, above all, bi-nationality. Only the information obtained inthe 1982 census and the employment survey of March 1982 (but with some reservation) permit a very general assessment to be made. Without going into any detail, it can be said that according to the census, the active foreign population represents 6.6% (i.e. more than 1.5 million) of the total active population (23.5 million)

and that according to the employment survey, young active foreigners account for 14.7% of the total foreign population (i.e. in the order of 230,000). It is also known that as a whole (but without any distinction according to age) foreigners are essentially to be found in the following sectors: construction, civil engineering and agriculture (20.3%), semi-finished goods industry (10.3%), agriculture (10%) and, at roughly the same level,(8.9, 8.4 and 8.5%) in the consumer goods sector, producer goods sector and other industries (percentage in relationship to the total number of employees). The other figures relate to what may be called their degree of professional independence. 13.6% fall under the heading of blue-collar workers, whilst only 4.7% are salaried workers; 3.1% belong to the crafts or commercial sector, or are heads of businesses, and, as can be easily explained, only 0.4% are farmers in their own right. On the other hand, 3.7% belong to "management and the higher intellectual professions." Many studies underline the fact that young foreigners as a whole are confined to a market of dequalified employment. Their history provides a number of explanations: the homology between the various fields of activity and the levels of qualification of the previous generation, the implantation of the latter in those regions which are currently in a state of weak economic development all contribute towards the development of a negative synergy.

With regard to the other "active" group, i.e. the unemployed/job-seekers, the relevant statistics must be interpreted with care. In all, in the second quarter of 1984, foreigners account for 11.5% of the job-seekers whilst according to the 1982 census (two years' before) they accounted for only 6% of the active population. However, it should be noted that over 10 years, the number of foreign job-seekers under 25 increased from 7,166 (30.06.1974) to 25,237 (10.05.1984), i.e. the figure has tripled. The structure of young job-seekers also indicates an increase in the number of females seeking employment. The latter would seem to have reached an

average rate (as of 10.05.1984: 37.2% as opposed to 62.8% of males under 25). It remains to be mentioned that the percentage of young people of foreign origin amongst the unemployed would appear higher than their percentage of the total active population and greater than the overall percentage of foreigners.

12. IN BRIEF

Young people of foreign origin number almost 1.5 million in France. It is not so much their legal status as their cultural identity which counts. One out of three is in the process of entering working life. The problem is no longer a cyclical, but rather a structural problem. They are: "the 'Beurs', these second generation immigrants who have not been sufficiently able to find their place in French society". (F. Mitterand on TF 1 television on 25 April, 1985). Their situation gives rise to a number of comments.

The first concerns the lack of elements enabling a quantitative and qualitative measurement of the problem of their integration. Even if their situation is in many points similar to that of young French people from identical socio-economic categories, it bears the additional mark of their specific environment, and in particular, their country of origin. Again, there is an extreme lack of instruments with which an attempt could be made to analyze this phenomenon and ensure an appropriate follow-up.

As a consequence of geographical and sociological structures, the material and psychological insecurity in which they live, the lack of communication between the family, educational and social environment which automatically leads the individual to search for an identity torn between the culture of origin and that of the host country.

A difficulty of the first order, apart from the derisory comments to be found in the media and which already address the adolescence, is the poor command of the French language. The young people who either were born in France or arrived at various ages - and it should again be stressed from different countries of origin - are confronted with this great obstacle which will affect the whole of their future. The education system has taken steps to close this gap, but without satisfactory results. The situation of origin and the social environment are the fabric into which in most cases an orientation towards low skill and low status careers are woven. Despite the fact that it would be expedient to open up Franco-North African or Franco-Portuguese "lycées) as indicated in the "Berque report", these would only affect a minority. The fact is that we are facing an infinitely greater - and non-elitist - problem calling for more general measures in pre-elementary, first and second degree education. It should not be forgotten that almost 10% of the school population is involved and that this percentage will increase.

So far, these facts have been underestimated and remedial measures have been too weak. They have been directed towards solutions involving pre-training and other training measures which are not necessarily designed to overcome the failings of the past. It is true that a whole range of regulatory or administrative measures have been introduced over the last few years which respond much better to the actual needs of the parties concerned and to the expectations of the field workers who are faced with very difficult tasks. Here too, even if the measures introduced have increased in volume and are better adapted to the needs, they remain inadequate vis à vis the scale of the problem. The situation of young people of foreign origin on the labour market is indeed a result of their short past development which is still so present. Regardless of the available statistics and comparisons with the French of a similar social status, they are, from the human point of view, much

more vulnerable with regard to unemployment.

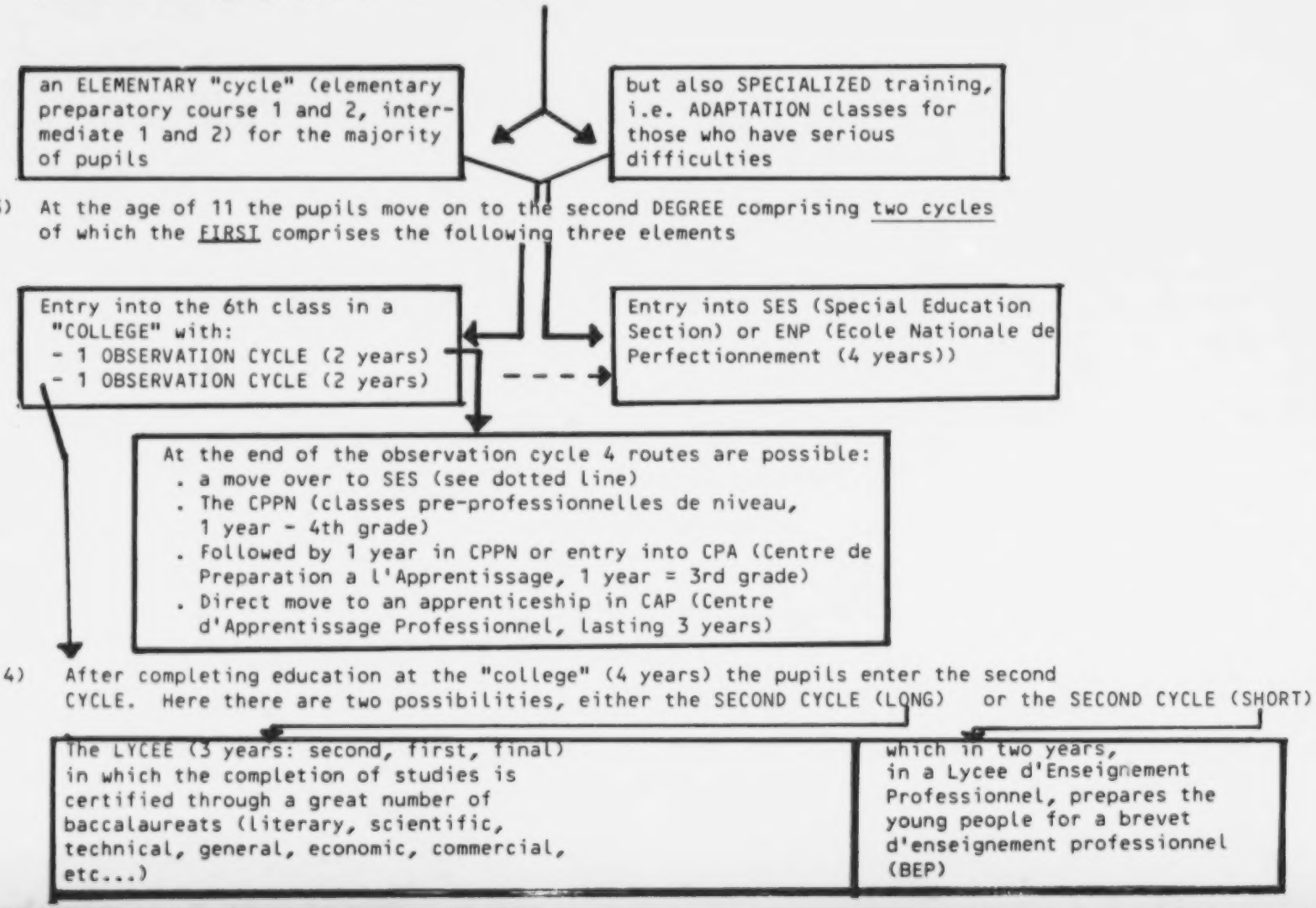
It is undeniable that both on the public and private sector a great deal of effort has been made both with regard to quantity and quality, but that on the other hand, the living conditions and the development of young people of foreign origin, concentrated in regions in which low-skilled jobs had attracted their parents, are severely affected by the economic crisis as a result of which the negative development to which they are subject has accelerated. It is also true that in such periods there is a general tendency for migrant populations to adopt a chilly and racist attitude towards themselves. Nevertheless, from left and right, voices can be heard which claim that "the French community is not a community which advocates exclusion" (cf. M. Leotard, TF 1, 6 May, 1985). It is necessary to adopt a new approach towards the potential of a multi-cultural society which could develop with patience, effort and mutual enrichment, offering a common future to those who became firmly rooted a long time ago and those who have been living in this society for a number of years.

SIMPLIFIED OVERVIEW OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

1) PRE-ELEMENTARY education, i.e. NURSERY SCHOOL, for young people from 2,3,4 and 5 years of age.

They pass on to

2) First DEGREE education, i.e. PRIMARY SCHOOL, for pupils in the age group 6 to 11. This covers


an ELEMENTARY "cycle" (elementary preparatory course 1 and 2, intermediate 1 and 2) for the majority of pupils
but also SPECIALIZED training, i.e. ADAPTATION classes for those who have serious difficulties
3) At the age of 11 the pupils move on to the second DEGREE comprising two cycles of which the FIRST comprises the following three elements
Entry into the 6th class in a "COLLEGE" with:
- 1 OBSERVATION CYCLE (2 years)
- 1 OBSERVATION CYCLE (2 years)
Entry into SES (Special Education Section) or ENP (Ecole Nationale de Perfectionnement (4 years))
At the end of the observation cycle 4 routes are possible:
. a move over to SES (see dotted line)
. The CPPN (classes pre-professionnelles de niveau, 1 year - 4th grade)
. Followed by 1 year in CPPN or entry into CPA (Centre de Preparation a l'Apprentissage, 1 year = 3rd grade)
. Direct move to an apprenticeship in CAP (Centre d'Apprentissage Professionnel, lasting 3 years)
4) After completing education at the "college" (4 years) the pupils enter the second CYCLE. Here there are two possibilities, either the SECOND CYCLE (LONG) or the SECOND CYCLE (SHORT)
The LYCEE (3 years: second, first, final) in which the completion of studies is certified through a great number of baccalaureats (literary, scientific, technical, general, economic, commercial, etc...)
which in two years, in a Lycee d'Enseignement Professionnel, prepares the young people for a brevet d'enseignement professionnel (BEP)

L

Luxembourg

CEDEFOP

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Project coordinator : Duccio Guerra

This is the second study to be undertaken as part of a project on
"THE VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF YOUNG MIGRANTS IN BELGIUM, FRANCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM, DENMARK AND LUXEMBOURG".
It includes the latest and most relevant documentation and statistical data on this subject.

This study which looks at the overall situation of the immigrant population, and young immigrants in particular, analyses such problem areas as the transition from school to working life and the inadequacies of initial training with relation to the vocational training, employment and unemployment situation.

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INDEX

	Pages
INTRODUCTION	1
I. General statistical situation	4
1.1. Population	4
2.1. Employment	5
II. Young foreigners in the school system	9
2.1. Education and training at school	9
2.2. Vocational training	15
III. Young foreigners on the job market	17
IV. Proposals by way of conclusion.	21
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	24

INTRODUCTION

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg stands out from other European Economic Community (EEC) countries, not only by reason of its small geographical size, but above all, for our purposes, by virtue of its very high percentage of foreign workers.

As Georges Als[1] points out, "the population of Luxembourg holds three records which give cause for concern":

- the world's lowest birth rate: 1.35 children per Luxembourg woman on average. The mortality rate outstrips the birth rate;
- the highest percentage of the elderly, calculated in relation to the Luxembourg population;
- the highest percentage of foreigners; over 26% of the total population.

However, these foreign workers by no means constitute a homogeneous group, either in socio-cultural terms or in job terms.

The largest group, which will constitute the focal point of this study, is made up of "foreign wage-earners or migrant workers". They are mainly Portuguese and Italians who, together with their families, account for 70 to 80 000 of the 96 000 residents of non-Luxembourg nationality in the

[1]Als, G., "Foreigners in Luxembourg" in Benelux 81/1, Brussels, 1981.

country. They are followed by the cross-frontier workers, Belgian, French or German nationals (± 13 000). These workers are obviously not included in the population statistics, but they do appear in employment statistics for Luxembourg.

A third category is made up of foreigners working in the business sphere, banks and insurance companies, which operate in the Luxembourg market place.

A fourth category of European and international civil servants (over 10 000 individuals) also accounts for a proportion of the foreigners living in the Grand Duchy - 9 to 10% of the foreign population.

It is obvious that for the purpose of the study commissioned by CEDEFOP, the latter three categories do not enter into consideration.

They are mentioned, however, since on the one hand official statistics are not always broken down into sufficient detail to be able to distinguish between the various categories of foreigners precisely, and on the other, given the small scale of the population, the size and qualitative significance of these different groups very often blur the specific characteristics of each one, giving way to a mean which obscures existing differences.

Moreover, even though it appears that many young foreigners possess only a low level of job skills, the relative

bouyancy of the labour market and the development of new activities in the tertiary sector have, to date, made it impossible to establish a correlation between the fact that many young people have hardly any vocational training and a proportional increase in unemployment.

In our view, this study coincides with a turning point in the development of the economic situation of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. The effects of the economic crisis - fewer jobs, etc. - although becoming apparent later than in neighbouring countries, are now helping to change accepted thinking.

They are also helping to highlight previously latent tensions and to jeopardise the fragile equilibrium of the past. This trend is particularly evident in relation to the population of young migrants.

This state of affairs emerges both from talks with local officials and from analyses of this problem which have been produced.

Indeed, without discounting scientific studies, one must realise that in a country where "everyone knows everyone else", the opinion of political officials and community leaders, the possibility they enjoy of swift decision-making and of seeing the effects thereof just as swiftly, constitutes a major factor which no report dealing with Luxembourg can afford to ignore.

1. General statistical situation

1.1 Population

Census statistics show a drop in the total population of Luxembourg since 1975. Although the trend is reversed in 1979, the very slight increase (more births than deaths) is solely attributable to the foreign population, whose high birth rate offsets the decrease registered in respect of nationals.

"In one decade, the increase of the foreign population - 40 000 individuals - accounts for more than 10% of the country's population, whereas the Luxembourg population has decreased by 14 200 individuals, or by 5.1% of its 1970 total (which was 277 300). The entry of 7 100 foreigners into the Luxembourg population by naturalisation or by option[I] goes some way towards correcting this situation.

The foreign population is increasing not only by migration, but also via the birth rate (+ 1 200 per annum), whereas the Luxembourg population is falling by more than 1 000 persons per annum as a result of the higher mortality rate"[2].

It is clear that in the long run this situation will lead to far-reaching upheavals in the social fabric of the country.

[I] on reaching the age of majority (translator's note)

[2] Source: STATEC, Population census on 31.03.1981, quoted in document no. 2682 of the Chamber of Deputies, "Problématique Enseignement-Immigration", February 1983.

The following tables and graphs clearly show the increasing numbers of young foreigners as compared with young Luxembourgers.

One sees immediately that the foreign population is much younger than the Luxembourg population.

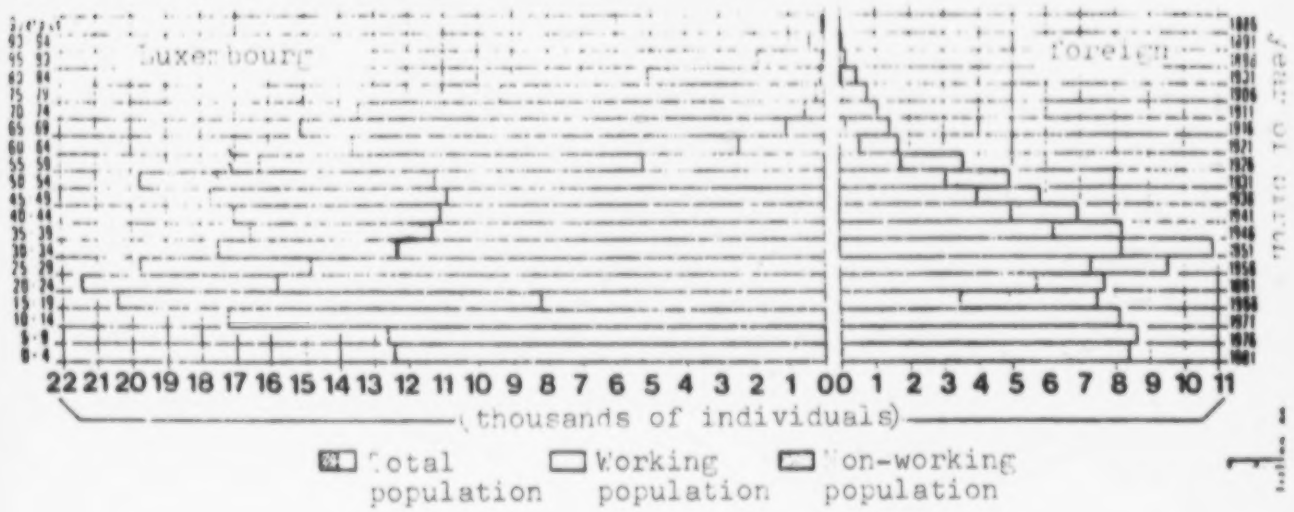
In 1981, the over sixties accounted for 22.1% of Luxembourgers, as against 5.9% of foreigners. Conversely, young people under 20 made up 23.4% of the Luxembourg population, as against 34.0% of foreigners. It is not surprising that the employment figures are also higher for these latter: 48.2% as opposed to 38.7% for Luxembourgers. Nevertheless, this proportion is falling as a result of families reuniting (increased percentage of young people) and as a result of the gradual ageing of the foreign population.

1.2 Population

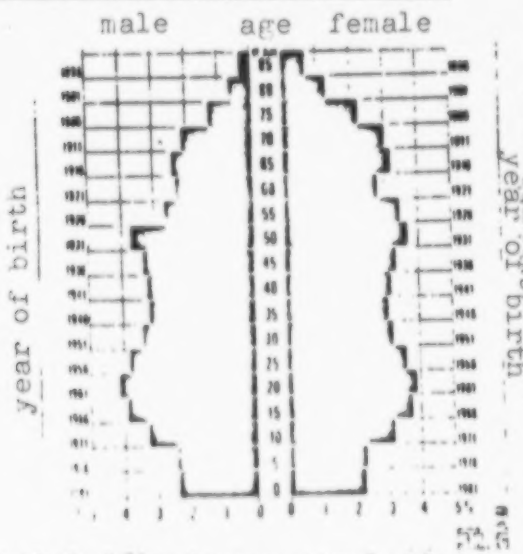
In the working population, foreigners are proportionally even better represented, since they amount to 30% of the total workforce (33% including cross-frontier workers).

As regards foreign wage-earners, the Administration de l'Emploi (Department of Employment) counted 53 800 in 1983, 17 800 of whom were women. The staff of international organisations are not included in the totals. The trend in the number of foreigners working in the Grand Duchy is

Graph 1 : Local population census
Total population and working population,
by age and nationality group[1]

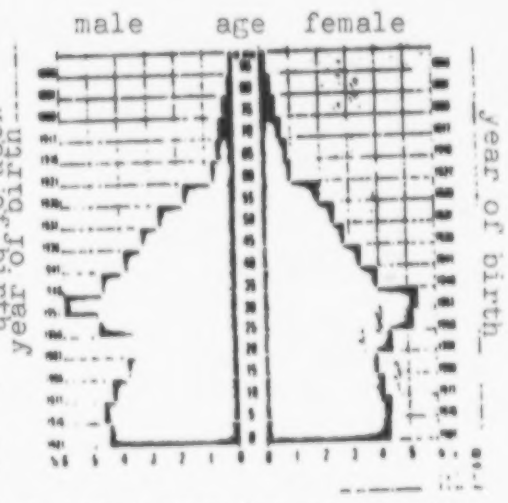

Luxembourg
foreign
22 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 00 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
(thousands of individuals)
Total population
Working population
Non-working population

Graph 2
Population of Luxembourg nationality at 31 March 1981



% total Luxembourg population

Foreign population at 31 March 1981



% total foreign population

[1] Source : STATEC, socio-economic and personal population characteristics, STATEC, Luxembourg, 1984.

as follows:

Table 1: Foreigners working in the Grand Duchy (in thousands)[3]

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Belgium	7.6	7.5	7.6	7.6	8.1	8.4
Netherlands	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.9
France	8.0	8.1	8.5	10.0	10.0	10.1
Germany	4.3	4.5	4.6	4.6	4.7	5.0
Italy	10.7	11.0	11.2	9.2	8.9	9.1
United Kingdom	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5
Denmark	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Spain	2.2	2.2	2.3	1.0	1.0	1.0
Portugal	13.1	13.3	13.7	15.9	15.5	15.9
Yugoslavia	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7
Other countries	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.9
Stateless persons	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2
Total	49.8	50.4	51.9	52.2	52.3	53.8

Table 2: New recruitment/Workers' nationality

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Belgium	419	559	461	384	341	484
Netherlands	88	107	54	35	46	65
France	1161	1518	1202	1030	779	976
Germany	419	506	308	310	277	400
Italy	686	691	476	441	310	338
United Kingdom	114	89	75	65	58	75
Spain	53	49	45	29	36	44
Portugal	779	1676	1604	1324	932	951
Other						
Overall total	4126	5652	4730	4131	3217	3856

[3]Source: Directorate of Administration de l'Emploi.

One immediately notes a very clear reduction in the number of new jobs after 1979. The two main reasons for this are the crisis and the very restrictive migration policy adopted at that time.

Moreover, in 1983 one notes the start of a recovery manifested in an increased number of new jobs offered to foreigners; nevertheless not all foreigners benefit to the same extent, and the increase registered by the Italians and Portuguese is proportionately far lower than for the other nationalities.

This is confirmed by the fact that in 1983 the sectors generating the largest number of jobs (for foreigners), are businesses, banks and insurance companies, as well as the hotel trade and services in general.

2. Young foreigners in the school system

2.1 Education and Training at School

In the school year 1982-1983, 37% of pupils in pre-primary education were foreign (the children of migrants), and they amount to 38% in primary education. That percentage is broken down as follows: 36% in "normal" primary education, 44.2% in remedial education, 61.2% in special education. In post-primary education, the number of foreigners falls off very steeply, the percentage of non-Luxembourg pupils scarcely reaching 19%.

These data, unfortunately very explicit about the selection which operates throughout school life, are confirmed by the following table which brings together the results of earlier years.

This synopsis brings out the major trends in the development of the education of foreign pupils in Luxembourg in the main levels of education.

In pre-school and primary education, there is a steady general increase in the percentage of foreigners, under the influence of a fall in the absolute numbers of Luxembourg children and the steady increase in the numbers of Portuguese children.

This growth corresponds nicely to the upsurge in numbers recorded for migrant families in Luxembourg. Thus one

Table 3: Foreign children in the Luxembourg education system[1]

Preschool education	% Foreigners	% Italians	% Portuguese
1974-75	28.0	9.9	6.7
1975-76	30.0	9.5	8.9
1976-77	33.0	9.2	11.6
1977-78	36.0	9.4	14.2
1978-79	38.0	9.3	16.1
1982-83	37.0	6.0	20.0
Primary education[2]			
1974-75	26.0	9.8	6.3
1975-76	27.5	9.8	7.4
1976-77	29.0	9.8	8.5
1977-78	30.0	9.8	9.8
1978-79	32.0	9.6	11.5
1982-83	38.0	8.7	18.4
Technical, vocational, agricultural education			
1975-76	18.0	-	-
1976-77	18.0	6.7	1.0
1977-78	18.5	7.2	2.0
1978-79	19.0	-	-
1982-83	26.0	9.3	6.7
Secondary education			
1975-76	7.8	-	-
1976-77	7.9	2.7	0.2
1977-78	8.4	1.8	0.2
1978-79	8.6	-	-
1982-83	10.5	3.2	0.9

[1] Source: Ministère de l'Education Nationale (M.E.N.) Statistics in Courrier de l'Education Nationale, n° A-B-C 680, 1980-1981.

[2]

	% Foreigners	% Italians	% Portuguese
Normal primary education	36.0	8.1	17.0
Remedial education	44.2	13.4	20.5
Special education	61.2	9.4	41.4
Total primary figures	38.0	8.7	18.4

notes that an ever-increasing proportion of young foreigners, most of whom were born in Luxembourg, also start school there.

The figures in table 3 highlight the evolution of the percentage of foreign pupils, and in particular that of Italians - who represent earlier migration - and that of the Portuguese - representing recent migration.

One might imagine, and in so doing follow the conclusions of the survey carried out in Germany[4], that by starting their schooling in Luxembourg, the children of migrant workers will encounter fewer difficulties than their classmates who arrive in the host country later in their school life. This argument, whilst it cannot be rejected a priori, nevertheless fails to take account of a major feature of teaching in Luxembourg, the problem of languages.

The spoken language, Luxembourgish, is not used for written purposes. Moreover, the two official languages are French and German. Once one realises that practically all teaching, especially in the technical branch, is conducted in German, it is easy to appreciate the obstacles in the path of foreign workers' children, even those born in Luxembourg. "They need to be proficient in four languages."

Apart from their mother tongue, used in the home, it is vital that they use German at school, French as a second

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[4]Vocational Training Situation of Young Foreigners in the F.R.G., CEDEFOP, Berlin, 1982.

language, and lastly Luxembourgish in everyday life.

This major obstacle operates a quasi-automatic selection as between foreigners and native speakers, in every aspect of life and a fortiori in the field of vocational training and school learning in the broadest meaning of the term.

In post-primary education, the percentage increase of foreign pupils is far lower than in other levels of education.

The percentage of Italian pupils is one of the more respectable at all educational levels, but it is still difficult to cross the threshold of secondary education.

The percentage of Portugese pupils is on the increase in pre-school attendance and will continue further in primary schools in the next two years.

The vast majority of migrant pupils only attend school during the period of compulsory education, until the age of 15.

We know that the percentage of foreign pupils in primary school remedial classes is much higher again, at least as far as migrant workers' children are concerned.

In 1982-1983, there were 61.2% foreign children in primary education special classes (compared with 56% in 1978). The proportion of foreigners not in normal classes is 15% of

foreign pupils, the proportion of Luxembourgers in these same classes is 3% of Luxembourg pupils. There are proportionately five times as many foreigners as Luxembourgers in special education.

The figures in this table confirm what was instinctively felt to be true, namely that the proportion of Luxembourgers in secondary education is far higher than that of foreigners. There is an inverse ratio in remedial education.

Indeed, after primary education proper, which is common to all pupils, the problem of foreign pupils assumes a new dimension, since after the 6th form of primary school, the various mechanisms of selection will have an even greater effect. From one year to the next, remedial education includes a smaller proportion of Luxembourgers, a good number of whom still gain access to technical secondary education, leaving the non-nationals to swell the ranks of the remedial classes.

We also note that once foreign pupils reach remedial education, their motivation to learn German is lost for good, in the light of unfortunate past experience. Neither will this section prepare them for concomitant education, and they are forced to make a start in life without any vocational qualification.

Since post-primary education invariably calls for proficiency in German, these pupils are condemned in advance to join the ranks of the 40% who have no certificate. Small consolation:

craft industries will employ them nevertheless, as manual labour, since today two-thirds of craft manual labour is accounted for by foreigners.

The following features emerge in any attempt to produce a balance-sheet of second generation young migrants in Luxembourg:

- Pre-primary and primary education are seeing a constant increase in the percentage of young foreigners. This phenomenon is linked to migrant families living in Luxembourg reuniting, but also the ever-increasing numbers of births recorded in these families. Moreover, it is amplified by the decline in the indigenous population.
- Post-primary education is witnessing a startling drop in the numbers of young migrants. In classical secondary education (lycées - grammar schools), they are hardly present at all (18 Portuguese in 1977-78, 29 in 1979-80 and 73 in 1982-83). In full-time technical education, their ratio is far below their relative proportion of the relevant population.

Which leaves remedial education; this branch might in some way allow them to catch up the accumulated back-log and guide them towards vocational training where they would acquire the skills required to practice a trade. There are very high percentages of young migrants in these three years of education, but although they make up a large part of the numbers in vocational training, it must be recognised that in quantitative terms, numbers shrink during the transition

from remedial to vocational teaching (full-time and part-time).

Indeed, a large majority of young migrants continue at school more or less - usually less - successfully until the age of 15 (compulsory education). From that age onwards, not having been able to make satisfactory progress, even in the least academic sections of the Luxembourg school system, they are very often eliminated from the entire system once and for all.

2.2 Vocational Training

There are two branches of vocational training in Luxembourg which are by far the most important. Firstly, the so-called "classical" branch. It consists of 2 or 3 years' apprenticeship in various trades. This apprenticeship is accompanied by a compulsory release scheme of one or two days per week, during which students return to an educational establishment to follow a certain number of courses. This training leads to a Technical and Vocational Aptitude Certificate (CAPT, theoretical 2 years, practical 3 years) in the chosen trade.

The second branch consists essentially of adult evening classes. There are other vocational training possibilities, but they are often organised by private firms. Such training takes as a starting point technical standards that few young migrants can aspire to after their schooling.

Taking account of the small size of the country and of the speed with which training needs can be visualised, it must be said that the general organisation of the vocational training system has come in for little criticism.

It covers a great number of trades, operates on the German model, is organised flexibly, efficiently and along operational lines - for a public which has a sound knowledge of the vehicular language of all the courses; i.e. German (sometimes Luxembourgish).

Once again, the obstacle constituted by concomitant proficiency in three languages emerges as a very selective hurdle in the path of young migrants.

3. Young foreigners on the job market

Unlike the other countries of the EEC, Luxembourg has a very low level of unemployment. It affects less than 2% of the active population.

Nevertheless, comparing the current situation with what it was some years previously, one notes a rapid growth in the number of unsatisfied requests for jobs.

The appreciable increase in unsatisfied job requests is proportionately greater in respect of foreigners and particularly women, as the following table shows. Similarly, the proportion of foreigners among the unemployed drawing benefit is far higher than their relative position in the working population (30%).

On 25th September 1984, 2 425 job seekers were registered, broken down as follows:

Table[5]

1 408	Luxembourgers	= 58.1%	
364	Portuguese	= 15.0%	
229	Italians	= 9.5%	
144	French nationals	= 5.9%	
81	Germans	= 3.3%	41.9% foreigners
79	Belgians	= 3.3%	
27	Spaniards	= 1.1%	
22	Yugoslavs	= 0.9%	
12	Dutch	= 0.5%	
59	Others	= 2.4%	
Total: 2 425		= 100.0%	

[5] Source: Administration de l'Emploi. Employment Situation and Trends. Internal document, November 1984.

53.6% of these job seekers were under 25 years of age and roughly 38% of those young people were foreigners.

Of the whole group, 67.1% of all these job seekers had no certificate other than that obtained on leaving primary education, whereas 19.4% held a certificate attesting to the completion of studies at a vocational school or a vocational aptitude certificate. These two types of "training" alone encompass 86.5% of all Luxembourg job seekers.

Although more than one half (56.3%) of the fully unemployed drawing benefit are foreigners, it must be added that more than half of the applications for employment came from young people under 25. These few facts, alongside statements by those in the field, support the following argument.

It is really not possible to state that the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is experiencing unemployment problems. However, an analysis of the vocational training system shows that it does not enable the majority of young foreigners to acquire vocational skills.

Now despite this, until recently these young foreigners were able to find a job, a phenomenon unknown in other countries. In order to explain this apparent contradiction, one must recall those characteristics peculiar to Luxembourg:

- the small size of the country means that it is possible to visualise new needs in respect of skilled and unskilled labour swiftly;
- foreign workers make up over 90% of manpower in the

construction sector; there is significant recruitment of young unskilled workers in this sector, not least since the city of Luxembourg is in a phase of considerable urban expansion;

- finally, the growth of the city has been accompanied by a multiplication of various services in the tertiary sector, such as restaurants, hotels, cleaning firms, etc. This provided job opportunities for many young people.

One may, however, put forward the hypothesis that whereas in the past many unskilled young people managed to find employment, that situation is definitely a thing of the past.

Unskilled job opportunities are drying up and the special characteristics of Luxembourg which had a positive bearing, will now exercise a negative effect.

- The country is small, and thus the areas of the job market where young people found employment are quickly saturated.
- Technological progress made in the steel and construction sectors will at the same time eliminate jobs and increase the requisite skill threshold for those applying for the remaining jobs.
- Finally, the boom generation of young foreigners is only just reaching school age, and is clearly not yet present on the labour market.

The problem of access to vocational training adapted to the young foreign population is clearly a growing one.

It will become one of the major economic and social

challenges which the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg cannot afford to ignore.

What then are the most significant conclusions emerging at the end of this all too brief summary?

- Despite its small size, Luxembourg has proportionately the biggest foreign population of any European country.
- The indigenous population tends to decline year by year.
- Reliance on the foreign population and the pattern of family migration adopted correspond both to the country's vital economic and demographic requirements.
- There is a large young foreign population, and the most populous age groups are only beginning their schooling.
- In addition to the difficulties facing all young migrants in other European countries, it appears that the main factor of discrimination which besets them throughout their school life in Luxembourg is the concomitant learning of 4 languages: the mother tongue, Luxembourgish and the two official languages: French and German.
- Failure at school on this account is widespread, and theoretically effective vocational training turns out to be largely inaccessible to young foreigners. Its vehicular language is almost exclusively German.
- Despite this, young foreigners, often without any job skills whatsoever, manage to enter the labour market, albeit increasingly less successfully, but it is becoming very difficult to use this type of unskilled labour.

In the long term, however, and even in the short term according to some, difficulties will arise:

- The number of young unskilled foreigners will be even higher.
- The labour market will be unable to employ them, because Luxembourg too is suffering under economic constraints due to the crisis. Unemployment is starting to become a disturbing fact of life and young and low-skilled workers are in the forefront. Furthermore, technological progress is affecting all sectors of activity and is eliminating the least skilled jobs.
- The risks of tension are all the greater since the employment market is quantitatively limited and the numbers of young migrants are proportionately very high.

All of this inspires three proposals. They do not purport to resolve all the questions put, but at least they can channel ideas to prevent the situation from seizing up.

1. The introduction of teaching the young migrant's own language at least in pre-primary and primary education. On the one hand, that would enable parents to take an active part in their child's education, without feeling left out, as is the case at present, and on the other hand it would help to encourage intercultural understanding between two sectors of the population who have to live side by side. Population trends weigh heavily in favour of adoping such a measure.

2. Encouraging the learning of German. This language, which is the language of choice in technical fields, is also used in vocational training.

Rather than instituting teaching in French at primary level, with the aim of facilitating a better grasp of subjects by young foreigners of latin origin, we believe that it would be preferable to enable them to learn their mother tongue, and for German - "the" technical language - to be compulsory.

In point of fact, French is of no use in a vocational training system which, for a number of reasons, relies on a knowledge of German. The options would become clearer for young migrants. Their mother tongue would gain recognition and its use would preserve their cultural identity. Knowledge of German would provide access to vocational training and they would no longer risk being kept back in weaker classes where they could only hope to obtain a "cut-price" diploma.

3. The creation of pre-apprenticeship centres for boys and girls. Many of those working in training deem this measure to be highly desirable. These centres, essentially set up experimentally in a number of towns, would enable young migrants, whether or not they were born in the host country, to gain insight into a larger number of trades.
There would be closer contact with the world of work and the young people would, to some extent, be prepared in order to make a reasoned and informed choice of vocational training compatible with their preferences and abilities.

It is obvious that these few measures cannot, of themselves, solve the outstanding problems. It is not enough to show that training institutions are not suitable for a young migrant public. Neither is it enough, having provided a diagnosis, to imagine that mere functional adaptations could render those institutions operational.

There are other factors which it is imperative to consider. The first is the political will to consider the migrant population as something other than a pool of cheap labour! The second factor might be the political will to consider the second and third generation migrants as something other than simply a replica of the labour force constituted by their parents.

To sum up, designing vocational training adpated to the specific characteristics of young foreigners means allowing them access to the employment market on equal terms with the indigenous population. In the case of Luxembourg, this also means providing a large part of the population with job skills which will prevent them from becoming tomorrow's drop-outs.

Finally, it means refusing to do nothing until such time as the immediate economic interest presented by the young migrants is perceived to fall behind the social costs engendered by their exclusion from society.

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Ethnic Minority Young People and Vocational Training in the U.K. (Summary)

1. Introduction

This report arises from an initative of CEDEFOP to provide an initial assessment of the vocational training position of young immigrants and minorities in West Germany, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland, Denmark and the United Kingdom. The initiative is founded upon the belief that migrants and minorities do not become integrated automatically into the mainstream of host societies and that many of the problems that arise are amenable to policy intervention. This report therefore has a practical purpose - to contribute to a Community wide effort to equalise educational and occupational opportunities so that those of the so-called 'second' or 'third' generation do not go on to become a permanently disadvantaged sector of each society.

Objectives

The this report may be said to have the following objectives

i. to describe the migrant descended population of the U.K.

ii. to assess the social and economic circumstances of this population, particularly those within the age range 16-25

iii. to examine the position of these minorities in the British education system

iv. to assess any special features there may be in the transition of minority young people from school to work

v. to describe in brief the vocational training system in the U.K.

vi. to evaluate the success of minorities in achieving access to approriate pre-vocational and vocational training

vii. to examine the experiences minorities have on pre-vocational and vocational courses and to assess how far these are associated with their migrant origins

2. The Young Minority and Migrant Population

In common with other European countries, Britain experienced an acute labour shortage after the Second World War. Unlike West Germany or France, however, the demand was largely met by people arriving from the colonial empire who possessed rights of settlement and citizenship. The fact that many of these people arrived during the 1950s and 1960s means that their offspring are not migrants but are identifiable only by race or ethnic origin. For this reason, the report adopts the terms 'ethnic minorities', to refer both to those of non-white racial origin actually born abroad or born in the U.K.

The report demonstrates the degree to which ethnic minority populations are comparatively youthful, and thus especially affected by problems of employment or training facilities for the young. It also demonstrates the degree to which ethnic minority populations are concentrated in inner urban areas, especially those with poorer housing and environmental conditions.

In the labour market too, the participation of ethnic minorities still reveals special characteristics. High levels of participation are still evident, as with all populations of recent migrant origin, and concentrations in industries of initial recruitment are still apparent. Thus men of Caribbean origin are still concentrated in engineering and transport while women are predominantly located in the tertiary sector. Asians of both genders are found in manufacturing and distribution. Research evidence is referred to which demonstrates that, regardless of educational levels, ethnic minorities are more likely to be found at the lower end of each industrial sector in which they participate when compared with the indigenous population.

A particular problem affecting ethnic minority populations is the level of unemployment. There appear to be four main reasons why they are disproportionately affected by unemployment. First, as comparatively young populations they are especially hit by high levels of youth unemployment. Secondly, they are in industries and areas of the country which have been particularly affected by recession. Thirdly, they are more likely to be in unskilled employment, which has been the worst affected by the decline in economic activity. Finally, there is a mass of research evidence that shows how important discrimination continues to be in excluding minorities from initial employment or promotion.

3. From School to Work

A great deal of attention has been given to the educational attainments of ethnic minority young people. The overall pattern of performance is considerably clearer then the reasons for it or its significance. Both West Indians and Asian youngsters are more likely to stay on in school after the minimum leaving age but the latter appear to be more likely to derive educational qualifications from this greater effort than the former. What is particularly distressing is that there is some evidence to suggest that the greater the exposure of West Indian young people to the educational system the poorer their performance when compared with others.

This has taken some researchers down the path of exploring the motivation and family background of young people themselves, while others have concentrated on the school system as the possible cause of so called 'under-achievement'. The likely causes are complex but they may include both the attitudes and expectations of teachers on the one hand and the level of parental pressure on the other. Certainly, the negative affects of school itself for many Asians appear to be counteracted by the achievement orientations of parents, particularly where boys are concerned.

What is important is that language problems are only a temporary barrier to educational performance when other support exists. There are many who now argue that the main problem of language is not facility in English but the loss of the 'mother tongue'. They argue that linguistic retention, far from being a barrier to achievement, is actually a support since it serves as a vital point of connection between a young person and his or her community.

Early research on the occupational aspirations of minorities tended to conclude that these were 'unrealistic'. In fact, all that this material shows is a reluctance to remain in unskilled employment. Skilled work, and the training it requires, is enthusiastically pursued, which indicates how relevant vocational training is in meeting these needs. Both Asian and West Indian boys, for example, who leave school at the minimum age are much more interested in apprenticeships than are whites. What they also reveal, however, is a greater reliance than whites on official agencies of placement and recruitment. This in turn appears to present further problems as these agencies are less likely than personal contact to obtain training through an employer.

4. The Vocational Training System

The report provides a summary of current training provision. It shows how the tendency has been for responsibility for training to have shifted to the public purse from industry. In particular, the advent of the Manpower Services Commission has been accompanied by a growing attempt to centralise and co-ordinate a national effort to improve the training opportunities for young people. The most tangible evidence of this development is in the publication of a 'New Training Initiative' in 1981 which led to the establishment of the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) and a renewed attempt to provide more adult training.

Although government policy has been to look forward to a better trained workforce, it also had to contend with growing unemployment, particularly amongst the young. This has tended to influence what is provided by increasing the attention given to pre-vocational training with a significant element of 'work experience' to replace that which would have come from employment itself.

These two aspects are evident in the Youth Training Scheme, which started in September 1983 and has recently been extended from one to two years. Training places provided by large employers are intended to lay the foundations for skilled employment while those otherwise provided are primarily designed to give pre-vocational skills and to enhance employability. The latter outnumber the former by approximately four to one.

5. The Experience of Training

This section of the report provides evidence on the supply and demand for vocational and pre-vocational training. It demonstrates that ethnic minority young people are keen to further their training but that they are significantly less likely than whites to see these aspirations translated into training places where skilled work is concerned. This is shown to be true for both apprenticeships and also those parts of YTS that have come to provide the first year or two of vocational training. This is demonstrated by reference to official statistics from the Manpower Services Commission.

What is also shown is that ethnic minority young people are well represented on YTS schemes but are disproportionately found on pre-vocational or non-vocational courses. On these they are likely to receive training in 'social and life skills' which aims to enhance employability and to provide for remedial needs. However, ethnic minorities are no less likely to have educational qualifications on entering schemes than are whites and the probability is that scheme placement and access is more the result of popular stereotypes than of actual needs and abilities.

6. Conclusion

In the rest of Europe, the most frequently cited barrier to training is language ability. This no longer applies in the British case. This is not to deny that there is reason to continue making language training available, but it is to assert that as far as young people are concerned there is no evidence to suggest that language deficiencies represent a significant barrier for minority youngsters at 16+. There will continue to be a case for teaching English as a second language for many years and it is quite probably that the need may even grow as the demand for primary level instruction in the mother tongue increases, or as separatist tendencies within the school system become more pronounced. However, this is not the central issue.

Much more important is the fact that informal barriers exist to the full participation of minorities in the current vocational training provision. Partly this stems from variations in geographical coverage, partly it flows from employers preferences and partly it emerges from the system of careers advice and vocational guidance. The answer is to ensure that opportunities are unaffected by residence, that age restrictions no longer have a disproportionate effect on blacks and that Careers Officers and others become aware of their role as training filters, in order that they may counteract the effects of traditional assumptions on themselves and on the employers to whom their charges will be applying.

The crisis in employment - particularly amongst the young - which has become a central feature of national debate since 1979 - has prompted a new interest in vocational training, partly to lower labour market participation and thus unemployment, and partly to prompt or sustain economic recovery. The Manpower Services Commission has moved rapidly to establish vocational preparation arrangements covering most young people entering the labour market at 16. In 1983, as part of this process, the British Government extended the YOP schemes to provide one year's training to all unemployed youngster under YTS. Debate continues as to whether young people should be compelled to attend by curtailing their welfare rights and whether they should or should not receive an allowance as large as that at present. Minority youngsters - over-represented amongst the poor and unemployed - are keenly affected by these debates. There is a real fear that if allowances are cut and alternatives foreclosed then black and Asian youngsters will be forced into petty crime or other areas of the informal economy. However, if the current ferment on the training front produces a genuine expansion of

high level opportunities - particularly apprenticeships - then ethnic minorities will benefit disproportionately since they contain a reservoir of untapped ability with a strong motivation to succeed in skilled employment.

One of the most welcome elements in the recent policy debates on training is that they have emphasised for the first time the central importance of skill training. In the past, and still today, the vast majority of so called 'trainees' on government schemes for unemployed youth do not acquire a real skill but instead receive an introduction to the disciplines and routines of semi-skilled or unskilled work. This is because the fundamental idea motivating a large part of YTS provision is not in fact training but the employability of low achieving youngsters. Many YTS schemes are more about discipline and social responsibility than they are about craftsmanship and technical competence. The over-representation of minorities on these schemes carries with it the implication that such young people are less employable than their white peers. The report repeatedly argues that there is no evidence for this dangerous assumption, which is more likely to create the very reponse it seeks to avoid than it is to lessen social unrest. The expansion and development of vocational training is important. If minority youngsters have equal access to that part of provision that enhances employment and income generating possibilities then they will gain from such developments and by so doing contribute for the first time to economic growth in proportion to their abilities.

CEDEFOP – European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training

The vocational training of young migrants in Belgium, Denmark, France, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom
Synthesis report

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111